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LORD LYTTELTON'S HISTORY OF KING HENRY II.

VOL. II.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE

HISTORY

OF THE LIFE OF

KING HENRY THE SECOND,

AND OF THE AGE IN WHICH HE LIVED,

IN FIVE BOOKS:

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A Hiſtory of the Revolutions of England

From the Death of EDWARD the Confeſſor

To the Birth of HENRY the Second:

BY GEORGE LORD LYTTELTON.

THE THIRD EDITION.

VOL. II.



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THE

HISTORY

OF THE LIFE OF

KING HENRY THE SECOND.

THE clergy having ſo unanimouſly declared for Matilda, almoſt all England was induced by their powerful influence, and by the fear which the defeat and captivity of the king had brought on his party, to think likewiſe of ſubmitting to the government of that lady, except the ſingle county of Kent, which the queen maintained for her huſband, with the aſſiſtance of his favorite, William of Ipres. This general, immediately after the battle of Lincoln, retired thither with moſt of the mercenary troops, encouraged the people of that county, who had been always well affected to Stephen, and drew to his ſtandard all the braveſt of that prince's friends, who daily came in from every part of the kingdom; ſome of them hoping to ſerve their unfortunate maſter, and others to obtain better conditions for themſelves, by remaining in arms. The

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Vid. auctores citat. ut ſuprà.

Book I. city of London continued doubtful which ſovereign they ſhould own, but much more inclined to the king than to Matilda, for near two months; at the end of which time, that princeſs having advanced as far as St. Albans, a body of the chief citizens waited on her there, and, after ſome treaty with her, conſented to receive her within their walls. A few days before Midſummer ſhe entered into that city, with a great train of ſpiritual and temporal lords, and with her uncle, the King of Scotland, who came to aſſiſt, as a feudatory, at her coronation. She then took up her reſidence at the palace of Weſtminſter, built by William Rufus, and remained there ſome time, to order and compoſe the ſtate of the kingdom. The earl of Gloceſter ſerved her well in this neceſſary work. He negociated with the barons of the oppoſite faction, allured the haughty by careſſes and the mercenary by promiſes, was full of humanity, moderation, and courteſy, in all his deportment. Nor did he merely employ fair appearances, or ſmooth words, to reconcile the inclinations of the people to that change which had eſpouſed his ſiſter's cauſe, or ſubmitted to her power, he tried to reform the adminiſtration of juſtice, and reſtore the good ancient laws; being thoroughly ſenſible, that more ſtability would be given to government, by theſe acts of beneficence, than by force and fear, to which, he knew, the ſpirit of the people could not long

long be ſubjected. Had ſhe been guided by his wiſdom, the whole kingdom would ſoon have acknowledged her ſovereignty, without further oppoſition: but all his endeavours were defeated by the perverſeneſs of her conduct. The pride and haughtineſs of her temper were ſo ſwelled by this ſudden gale of proſperity, that they bore her far from the courſe which his prudence deſired to make her ſteer. From the day, in which the king was delivered to her a priſoner, her looks, her mien, her language, were abſolutely changed. She aſſumed an air ſo imperious, that one would have thought her another Semiramis, giving laws to a nation long accuſtomed to ſervitude, rather than a princeſs of England, making her way, through many obſtacles, to the limited government of a free people, not ſufficiently convinced of her right to their fealty. Her Grandfather, William the Conqueror, was hardly more deſpotick at the end of his reign, than ſhe at the beginning of a yet unaſſured and unſettled authority, even before the crown, ſo lately worn by her valiant antagoniſt, was placed on her head. Some of the party of Stephen, who came to offer their allegiance and ſervices to her, ſhe received with great coldneſs, others ſhe drove from her preſence with upbraidings and threats. All the grants made by that prince, even thoſe to the church, ſhe precipitately revoked, to give them to her favorites. From thoſe who had ſubmitted to

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Vid. auctores citat. ut ſupra.

Book. I.

her ſhe often took a part of their lands and and poſſeſſions, as fines for their paſt conduct; and thus left them, at the beſt, but half reconciled to her, or rather ſecret enemies, who naturally felt more reſentment for what they had loſt, than gratitude for what they retained. But all the barons who, from a ſenſe of honor or fidelity, delayed to abandon their late maſter, ſhe wholly deprived of their honors and eſtates, and conferred them on others; thus rendering them implacable, and keeping up a head of oppoſition againſt her, which no time could remove. The citizens of London, whom ſhe ought to have particularly courted, were treated with great ſeverity: for ſhe not only denied them the indulgence they aſked, of being governed by the laws of King Edward the Confeſſor, but oppreſſed them by arbitrary and grievous exactions. They repreſented to her how much they had loſt of that opulence they formerly had enjoyed, by the decay of their trade and other public calamities attending the war, beſides the high demands, which the the late government had often made upon them, and which they durſt not refuſe. They more eſpecially pleaded the extraordinary expences they had lately ſuſtained, in making proviſion for the relief of their poor, againſt an imminent danger of famine, which, they apprehended, was not yet entirely removed. And therefore they humbly implored her, in the moſt pathetic terms, to moderate her demand,

mand, or, at leaſt, to grant them, out of compaſſion to their preſent great diſtreſs, a longer time for the payment; promiſing her, that, when peace ſhould be perfectly eſtabliſhed, as their riches would encreaſe, ſo ſhould alſo their zeal for the ſupport of her government. But, before they had ended their remonſtrance, with rage in her eyes, frowns on her brow, and ſuch a diſorder of paſſion, as equally deſtroyed the majeſty of the queen and the ſoftneſs of the woman, ſhe told them, that they had frequently and laviſhly granted their money to Stephen, for his ſupport, and to her detriment, having been long combined with her enemies, as ſhe had felt to her coſt; and therefore they muſt not expect that ſhe would ſhew any lenity to them, or remit the leaſt part of the ſum ſhe had demanded. So ill did ſhe underſtand the art of converting ſubdued enemies into friends, which, ſo far as it can be done without alienating thoſe by whoſe aſſiſtance they were ſubdued, is of all arts the moſt neceſſary in revolutions of government!

Nor was her behaviour more gracious to her friends themſelves When the biſhop of Wincheſter and the earl of Gloceſter were ſuitors to her for any of the king's party, ſhe frequently rejected their interceſſions with great rudeneſs, ſuffering them to kneel to her, without riſing up: a pride, which, contraſted with the familiar and obliging behaviour of Stephen, appeared the more offen-

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ſive and inſupportable to a free people. In vain did her brother, to whom ſhe owed her ſucceſs, ſuggeſt to her right meaſures, and a conduct more agreeable to that ſtate ſhe was in, and to the temper of the nation. Neither his counſels, nor thoſe of the king of Scotland, her uncle, could prevail againſt the dictates of her impetuous paſſions, to which ſhe now gave ſo abſolute a ſway, that ſhe made little uſe even of her own underſtanding, which, in the former tranſactions of her life, had appeared to be much ſtronger and fitter for government, than could be imagined from her preſent behaviour. She was indeed quite intoxicated with her good fortune, and conſidered England as a conquered country, upon which ſhe might trample at pleaſure; forgetting that moſt of thoſe by whom ſhe had conquered had fought for freedom, and that even the vanquiſhed party was not ſo diſpirited, or reduced to ſuch weakneſs, as that a galling and deſperate reſentment might not yet render them dangerous to her, eſpecially if they were ſtrengthened by a coalition with thoſe whom intereſt alone had made her friends. But while ſhe was lulled in all the ſecurity of inſolent folly, and intent upon nothing but her approaching coronation, for the ceremonies of which ſhe now prepared, with all the impatience and pleaſure of a woman who loved the pomp of royalty no leſs than the ſubſtance, there aroſe a ſudden ſtorm, which burſt upon her head with

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſuprà.

with great fury, and drove her away for ever from that throne, which ſhe believed herſelf juſt upon the point of aſcending. Book I.

There is no kind of tyranny that will ſo ſoon excite a revolt in a great trading city, as an oppreſſive taxation. The citizens of London, exaſperated at the burthens laid upon them by the empreſs, and at the harſhneſs of the anſwer which ſhe had returned to their petition for relief, began to cabal, and conſult together, how to ſhake off a yoke ſo intolerable to them. While their minds were in this ferment, King Stephen's queen, a lady, whoſe virtues even his enemies honored, had vainly endeavoured to procure for him his freedom, upon the hard conditions of reſigning the crown, and going into a convent, or to the holy land, for the remainder of his life; which the chief lords of his party engaged he ſhould do, and offered Matilda to ſurrender their caſtles and give her many hoſtages, to ſecure to her the performance of this ſtipulation. Nothing but an implacable deſire of revenge could hinder her from accepting ſuch a propoſal, under the obligation ſhe had to the biſhop of Wincheſter, and conſidering how much her kingdom would ſuffer by the publick tranquillity not being reſtored. Nevertheleſs ſhe rejected it with an air of diſdain: whereupon the queen, who, with the gentleneſs becoming her ſex, had a maſculine courage, and knew how to act, at

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſuprà.

Book. I.

proper ſeaſons, both with vigour and prudence, commanded her forces to paſs over the river, and lay waſte the whole country under the walls of London: but at the ſame time, by her ſecret agents, ſhe invited the citizens to confederate with her againſt this moſt arrogant and tyrannical government; ſuggeſting to them how eaſily they might, by a ſudden and general inſurrection, make themſelves maſters of the perſon of Matilda, and ſo redeem and reſtore the king. They, who now were in equal danger of loſing their fortunes, by the avarice of Matilda, and by the arms of the queen, determined to ſave them, by adjoining with the latter, whom they had always loved, againſt the former, who had inflamed their ancient diſlike of her into a furious and irreconcilable hatred. This reſolution would have been executed, and Matilda, who thought that ſhe had nothing to fear, becauſe ſhe ſaw the queen's troops employed in ravaging the lands of the citizens, would have been taken priſoner, in her palace of Weſtminſter, by thoſe very citizens, if ſhe had not been opportunely appriſed of her danger, by an intelligence ſent to her from one of their body: upon which ſhe immediately gave the alarm to her friends, and, with all poſſible ſilence and ſecreſy, drew them inſenſibly, by ſmall parties, out of the city, before the conſpirators there were ready to act: then mounting on horſeback ſhe retired in a military manner to Oxford, the nobles

bles who attended her forming with their followers a ſtrong body of cavalry, and marching together, in good order, till they got to a conſiderable diſtance from London. The citizens, who had hoped to ſurprize her unprepared, were quite diſconcerted at finding that their plot was diſcovered: inſomuch that they ſuffered her, and all who were with her, to eſcape unmoleſted, ſatisfying themſelves with the plunder of the goods they had left behind. Probably, it was the too eager deſire of that booty which chiefly ſtopped their purſuit; and Matilda got off from them, as Mithridates is ſaid to have eſcaped from the Romans, by throwing gold and ſilver in their way. The king of Scotland, the earl of Gloceſter, and the biſhop of Wincheſter went with that princeſs to Oxford; but moſt of the other barons ſeparated, and repaired to their ſeveral homes, before ſhe got thither. Nor did ſhe ſtay long in that city; but went to Gloceſter, in order to confer with Milo Fitz-walter on the preſent ſtate of affairs. After ſome deliberation, they returned together to Oxford, where ſhe now determined to reſide. This baron adhered to her in all the changes of fortune, with the moſt ſteady fidelity, for which ſhe now rewarded him with the earldom of Hereford. He likewiſe enjoyed a ſuperior ſhare of her favour and confidence; but was forced to preſerve it by a more flattering complaiſance, than her true intereſt and ſervice required: for

Book. I.

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſupra.

Vid. M. T. Ciceron. oration. pro lege Manilia.

V. auctores cit. ut ſupra.

Book I.

for ſhe would not endure any advice that contradicted her humour; and as he owed ſo much to her affection, and expected ſtill more, he was content to be her miniſter upon her own terms; from whence it happened that his great abilities were of much leſs advantage to her than might have been expected.

The biſhop of Wincheſter had been extremely diſguſted for ſome time; and there is reaſon to think that the conſpiracy at London was formed with his approbation: yet he concealed his reſentments a little longer, but in the mean while gave orders that the fortifications of his caſtle at Wincheſter ſhould be repaired and augmented, with other precautions, that were neceſſary to put him in a better condition of openly quarrelling with Matilda. He then made a requeſt to her, which, conſidering his power in the church and ſtate, the danger of a breach with him, and the obligations ſhe had to him in the eyes of the world, one ſhould have ſuppoſed could not have been refuſed. What he aſked was a grant of the earldoms of Mortagne and Boulogne, which Stephen had held before he gained the crown, to his nephew Euſtace, that king's eldeſt ſon. And ſurely, if this great prelate could ſo far give way to reaſon of ſtate, or rather to the paſſions and revenge of Matilda, as to acquieſce in her keeping the unfortunate father in priſon for life, which ſhe now ſeemed reſolved to do, it was incumbent upon him, by all the obligations

V. auctores citat. ut ſuprà.

gations of nature and duty, to ſhew this regard at leaſt to the innocent ſon, who had an unqueſtionable right to his care and protection. One of theſe earldoms, viz. that of Boulogne, was the inheritance of that prince's mother, and not in the power of the empreſs; ſo that the aſking her for it was only a compliment, and that of Mortagne was a ſmall boon in return for a crown. Nevertheleſs ſhe refuſed it, perhaps from a jealouſy ſhe had conceived of the biſhop: but however juſtly ſhe may have ſuſpected him, by denying him a favor ſo reaſonable in itſelf ſhe hurt her own cauſe, and gave him a fair pretence to break with her more decently, having the voice of the publick on his ſide. After this he came no more to her court, though often invited, but had a meeting, at Guilford, with the queen, his ſiſter in law; and there they concerted together all the meaſures which they thought neceſſary to procure the the reſtoration of the king. He began by abſolving thoſe, whom he had before excommunicated for adhering to that prince, and by his agents and emiſſaries, ſent over the whole kingdom grievous complaints againſt the empreſs, affirming that ſhe had treacherouſly formed a deſign to ſeize his perſon; had broken her oath given to him and all the other barons, and knew not how to uſe power with moderation. Theſe reports much affected the irritable minds of the people, upon which compaſſion alſo worked very

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powerfully, at this time, in behalf of the king. For the empreſs, whoſe temper was naturally vindictive, being exaſperated by the danger ſhe had been in at London, and the great loſs her party ſuffered from the revolt of that city, vented her rage on the perſon of her royal captive, and laid him in irons, like a common malefactor, againſt the will of her brother, the earl of Gloceſter, whom thoſe who flattered her paſſions accuſed to her of treating him with too much indulgence. But the ignominious and barbarous uſage of a prince, whoſe dignity ſhe ought to have reſpected, for the ſake of her own, excited ſuch a general indignation againſt her, as not a little aſſiſted to turn again, on his ſide, the often varying ſtream of popular favor. The people of England have always been good-natured. Even the ſpirit of party has never had force enough to deſtroy the ſtrong principle of humanity in them. When they were told, that their ſovereign was loaded with irons, they forgot all his faults. His ſufferings only, and the inhuman arrogance of Matilda, her arbitrary, violent, oppreſſive conduct, were now the general ſubjects of their thought and diſcourſe. The preſent reſentment, raiſed by theſe, overcame and obliterated, in the minds of the enemies of Stephen themſelves, their former rancour againſt him; while, in his friends, it revived a warmer and more tender ſenſe of all thoſe endearing and amiable qualities, by which he

he had formerly recommended himſelf to the affection of the publick. The biſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe eyes were very quick, diſcerned this change in the temper of the nation, and ſaw that he ſhould be in danger of loſing all his credit, if he did not fall in with it, and act for his brother; which, together with the ſlights he had received from the empreſs, and diſlike of her behaviour, made him reſolve to undo all he had done for her ſervice, and reſtore the king whom his perfidy had contributed to dethrone. But, as he had not yet taken an open part againſt her, the earl of Gloceſter, who knew how detrimental the loſs of him would be to Matilda, thought it expedient to try all poſſible means to regain him to her party: with which intention he made him an amicable viſit at Wincheſter; but after having conferred with him he found him determined, and returning to his ſiſter confirmed her jealouſy. Upon the report he made to her, without conſulting with him, or letting him into the ſecret of her deſign, ſhe went on a ſudden to Wincheſter, with all the force ſhe had at Oxford, except what was neceſſary to be left there in garriſon, hoping to ſurprize and ſeize the biſhop. But juſt as ſhe was entering at one gate of the city, he rode out at another, and eſcaped to his caſtle; which, by the deſcription we have of it, ſeems to have been ſituated cloſe to the walls upon the bank of the river. It was a very ſtrong fortreſs, well garriſoned, and ſtored with

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſupra.

Book I. with all neceſſaries to ſuſtain a long ſiege, by the care of the biſhop, who had prudently foreſeen the need he might have of ſuch a timely proviſion. His eſcape diſconcerted the meaſures of the empreſs. Having failed in her intention of taking him by ſurprize, ſhe ſent a meſſage inviting him to come to her court; but he was too prudent to be caught in ſuch a ſnare. Had ſhe ſucceeded, it would have been a very dangerous act, ſo far to violate the privileges of the church in the perſon of a legate, draw upon herſelf, not only the enmity of all the Engliſh clergy, in whoſe affection the main ſtrength of her party then lay, but alſo the formidable reſentments of Rome. Her brother's diſcretion would never have permitted her to act ſo raſhly, and therefore ſhe did not conſult him; wilful and violent tempers being afraid of ſober advice, even from their beſt friends. As ſhe had imprudently engaged in this enterprize, ſo ſhe
A. D. 1141. obſtinately purſued it, and reſolved to beſiege the biſhop in his caſtle; remaining herſelf in the royal palace of Wincheſter, which ſtood upon a hill, without the weſt-gate, and was then a very ſtrong fortreſs; but lodging the greater part of her troops in the city, the inhabitants of which were generally inclined to her cauſe. The forces ſhe had with her not being ſufficient for ſo great an undertaking, ſhe ſummoned her adherents from all parts of the kingdom. Many of thoſe who had ſubmitted to her after the battle of Lincoln

coln forſook her now, and went over to Stephen; but among thoſe who attended her to this expedition, or who came on her ſummons, were David king of Scotland, Robert earl of Gloceſter, Reginald, another of her natural brothers, whom ſhe had made earl of Cornwall, Baldwin de Redvers earl of Devonſhire, Milo earl of Hereford, Roger earl of Warwick, William de Mohun, whom ſhe there rewarded with the earldom of Dorſet, Geoffry Boterel, brother to Alan earl of Richmond, and Brian Fitzcomte, lord of Walingford and Abergavenny, who had a very particular ſhare in her favor. The earl of Cheſter alſo came, but later than the others, and with very few followers; ſo that he did her no ſervice, and was even ſuſpected of an inclination to take part with her enemies: a moſt ſurprizing change indeed, after all that had paſſed between the king and him! but he was a man of a light temper: and indeed theſe were times which produced very few inſtances of irreconcilable enmities or firm attachments. On the other ſide, the biſhop of Wincheſter, ſeeing that the whole power of the empreſs was collected to make war upon him, called to his aſſiſtance all the friends of his brother, who came in ſuch numbers, that they compoſed an army much ſtronger than Matilda's. All the earls in England, except thoſe above mentioned, attended his ſummons, with great troops of their vaſſals: nor were any of them more forward on this

Book 1.

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſuprà.

Book. I.

occaſion than thoſe who had ſerved ſo ill at the battle of Lincoln: for they heard themſelves continually reproached with the miſchiefs their flight had cauſed, and eagerly ſought an occaſion of redeeming the honor they had loſt on that day. The queen herſelf marched to Wincheſter, at the head of the Kentiſh militia, her conſtant friends, and of a thouſand men at arms, drawn from the city of London, beſides archers and pikemen. William of Ipres attended her, with moſt of the mercenaries, breathing revenge for the inhuman indignities impoſed on their gracious and munificent prince, whom they now ſerved, not for hire only, but out of affection; knowing that his favor to them had been his greateſt offence to his people. Thus was the utmoſt ſtrength of both parties aſſembled about the city and caſtle of Wincheſter, but with a great ſuperiority on the ſide of the king. The plan formed by his generals was to prevent any proviſions from coming to the town, and vanquiſh the empreſs by famine, or force her to a battle with very unequal numbers. Accordingly they made themſelves maſters of all the communications ſhe had with the country, except one, towards the weſt or north-weſt, which they could not ſhut up ſo cloſely as the others; but even on that ſide they rendered the paſſage of her ſupplies very difficult, by ſending out parties of horſe to ſcour the country, which often intercepted them, and frightened the people from

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſupra.

from any intercourſe with her. Under theſe difficulties ſhe ſtill perſevered in beſieging the legate, who defended his caſtle with a moſt undaunted courage, and ſo little regard to his epiſcopal character, that, in order to revenge himſelf on the townſmen, who favored Matilda, he commanded fireworks to be thrown from the battlements of his tower, by which a great part of the city, the moſt magnificent then in England, and above twenty churches, (or as ſome authors ſay) forty, with a nunnery and an abbey, were burnt down to the ground. In the latter of theſe, which was called the abbey of Hyde and ſituated without the walls, there was a large croſs, covered with plates of pure gold, and richly ſet with precious ſtones, the gift of King Canute. This having been damaged by the flames, the biſhop of Wincheſter very freely made uſe of the gold to pay his troops, and laid up the jewels among his own treaſures. The miſerable citizens ſuffered no leſs by famine than by fire; the few proviſions, which ſometimes were brought into the town, being all taken from them, for the ſupport of the ſoldiers quartered among them; nor was there enough to ſupply theſe with the neceſſaries of life: ſo that the earl of Gloceſter, apprehending the ruin of his army, reſolved to erect a fort near the nunnery of Warewell, upon the river Teſt, which might facilitate and ſecure the importation of victuals into the city on that ſide. Some choſen troops were com-

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commanded to execute this reſolution; but William of Ipres fell upon them with a much greater force; and many having been killed or taken in the action the reſt of them retired into the church of the nunnery, and endeavoured to defend themſelves there: upon which the king's general ordered it to be fired, and thus deſtroyed, or took priſoners, all who were in it, thinking that the example of the biſhop of Wincheſter was authority enough to juſtify him, a layman and a ſoldier, in the little regard he ſhewed for the ſanctity of the place. This was a terrible blow to Matilda. She ſaw her army in great danger of being ſtarved, and feared ſhe ſoon might be reduced to the cruel neceſſity of yielding herſelf a priſoner to the wife of that king whom ſhe then held in Irons; a misfortune which ſhe dreaded more than death. In ſuch deſperate circumſtances the boldeſt counſels were prudent. The biſhop having proclaimed a ceſſation of arms on the eve of Holy-Rood day, after ſunſet, according to the cuſtom then obſerved in the whole Latin church, the earl of Gloceſter took that opportunity to endeavour to retire from this fatal ſituation. But not thinking that he could prudently depend on the enemy's obſerving the truce, he made ſuch diſpoſitions as, he hoped, would in any event ſecure the eſcape of the empreſs. Having committed her to the ſpecial care of his brother, the earl of Cornwall, he ſent her

V. auctores citat. ut ſuprà.

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſuprà.

out of the town, in the van of his army, together with her uncle, the king of Scotland, and moſt of thoſe friends whoſe preſervation he thought of the greateſt importance, ordering them to march about break of day, with all the expedition they could, towards Gloceſter, by the way of Ludgerſhall and the Deviſes; while he himſelf, to cover their retreat, followed more ſlowly, with a rear guard compoſed of ſome of the braveſt nobility, and of a few choſen troops, which, he believed, would ſtand by him, againſt any odds of numbers. It was happy for Matilda and all with her that he took theſe neceſſary precautions. The biſhop of Wincheſter was not ſo ſcrupulous, as to ſuffer his enemies to eſcape without moleſtation, out of reſpect to a holy-day; but the moment he got intelligence of their march ſent his garriſon to purſue them, ſpreading alſo the alarm through all the queen's army, which was poſted on the other ſide of the town and in ſome places near adjacent. They ſoon joined his forces, and came up with the earl of Gloceſter at Stockbridge upon the river Teſt. That lord made a ſtand againſt them at the head of the bridge; but after a long and brave defence, in which Geoffry Boterel diſtinguiſhed himſelf beyond all the other knights, the paſs was forced, the rear guard defeated, and their general taken priſoner by William of Ipres. A. D. 1141. Vid. auctores citat. ut ſuprà.

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Thus did the earl of Gloceſter moſt generouſly ſacrifice himſelf to the ſafety of his

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ſiſter and ſovereign, though ſhe had brought the danger on herſelf, by her wilful imprudence in acting without his advice. Having retarded the enemy in their purſuit, he enabled her and the main body of his army to eſcape without any other damage than the ſhame of having been forced to make a retreat which deſerved to be rather called a flight. The empreſs came unmoleſted by the enemy to the caſtle of Ludgerſhall: but left it in a few hours, and went on horſeback, as ſpeedily as her ſtrength would permit, to the Deviſes; from whence (if ſome hiſtorians of no ſmall authority may be credited) ſhe was carried to Gloceſter on a bier, as a dead corpſe: but, as William of Malmſbury and the anonymous author of the acts of King Stephen, who would hardly have omitted to mention this circumſtance, had it been true, ſay nothing of it, I think it a fable grounded only on popular rumours, which always add ſomething to every extraordinary and ſurpriſing event. It was alſo a current report, that the king of Scotland was thrice taken priſoner in his flight, and redeemed by ſome of his friends; his perſon not being known to the ſoldiers who took him. A contemporary author relates, that one David Holiford, a godſon of that king, who happened to ſerve at this time in the army of the queen, helped greatly to conceal him from their purſuit. Certain it is, that he made his eſcape with much difficulty,

culty, and ſo did the empreſs. Beſides the diſgrace ſhe ſuffered, her brother's captivity was ſuch a misfortune to her, as almoſt deprived her of any ſenſe of joy in her own preſervation. But he himſelf bore it with the moſt unſhaken fortitude; no action, no word, not even a look, diſcovering the leaſt dejection of ſpirit: inſomuch that his very enemies were compelled to revere and extol his virtue, which could with ſuch dignity maintain its ſuperiority over all the power of fortune. The queen, who knew, that the ill uſage of her huſband had been contrary to his advice and deſire, would not by chains, or any other inhuman ſeverities, revenge it upon him; but treated him kindly; and made him a propoſal, by ſome principal lords of her party, to ſet him at liberty, in exchange for Stephen. He replied, that ſuch an exchange would not be equal; the diſproportion between a king and an earl being too great: but if they would agree that all his friends whom they had made priſoners, in which number were ſeveral barons of diſtinction, ſhould be freed, together with him, in exchange for the king, he would give his conſent to thoſe terms. The queen, who deſired the liberty of her huſband almoſt upon any conditions, would have willingly accepted this offer: but William of Ipres, and ſome other nobles, who expected great ranſoms for the priſoners they had taken, oppoſed it warmly, and obliged her to reject

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Vid. auctores citat. utſuprà.

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it. She then tried to perſuade the earl of Gloceſter to forſake the cauſe of his ſiſter, and join with Stephen; offering him, in the name of her huſband, and by orders from him, the ſupreme adminiſtration of all his affairs, and the ſecond place in his kingdom. The anſwer he made to her was, "I am not "in my own power at preſent. When I am "free to diſpoſe of myſelf, I promiſe you "that I will act, in this reſpect, as reaſon "ſhall dictate." Which ſhe rightly underſtanding to be a refuſal, and being angry at his ſlight of ſo gracious an offer, made at a time when his ſiſter's fortune was much declined, altered her language, and threatened to ſend him to Boulogne, and keep him in chains all his life. To this he replied, with a countenance unchanged and ſerene, "that "he feared nothing leſs." The menace indeed was thrown out only with an intention to frighten him, if he could have been frighted: for the queen durſt not execute it, knowing that the counteſs of Gloceſter would not fail to take her revenge, by ſending the king, whom ſhe now had in her cuſtody, over to Ireland, the chief monarch of which iſland would have willingly ſhewn his particular regard for the memory of King Henry, with whom he had lived in the ſtricteſt league of friendſhip, by keeping Stephen a priſoner, in whatever manner the friends of the earl had deſired. As no advantages gained by the queen in England could hinder the

Malmſb. hiſt. nov. l. ii. f. 109.

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counteſs from putting this in execution, her huſband, whoſe mind in every ſituation ſaw every reſource in his power, aſſumed from hence a more ſteady reſolution, and acted in his priſon with as much intrepidity as at the head of his army. But when more than a month had been unſucceſsfully ſpent in theſe negociations, Matilda and all the principal lords of her party adviſed and entreated him to accept the propoſal the queen had made, and ſuffer himſelf to be ſingly exchanged for the king: a moſt extraordinary proof of his merit! there being no other example in hiſtory of a captive king ſet free in exchange for a ſubject. The earl, who himſelf could not be inſenſible of how great importance his liberty was to the ſupport of the party, yielded at length to the importunities of his friends; and his conſent was very gladly received by the queen: but all the king's friends inſiſting, that, out of reſpect to his royal dignity, he ſhould firſt be releaſed, ſome difficulty aroſe from the apprehenſions of the earl, that they might break their faith with him, and detain him in priſon: a ſuſpicion which certainly was very well founded on the paſt conduct of Stephen, who never had ſeemed to regard either his word or his oath. Many precautions and ſureties were neceſſary to remove this objection. The earl was not ſatisfied with exacting an oath from the legate and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, that they would yield themſelves priſoners

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into the hands of his friends, if he was not ſet at liberty immediately after the releaſe of the king; but obtained from them letters under their hands and ſeals, by which they notified this oath to the pope, and, if the caſe ſhould happen, implored his aſſiſtance, to deliver both the earl and them from their bonds. Nor was even this eſteemed a ſufficient ſecurity: but either he, or ſome of his friends who negociated for him, demanded that the queen and one of her ſons, with two principal lords of that party, ſhould be kept in the caſtle of Briſtol as hoſtages, from the time of the king's being diſmiſſed from thence, till the earl was releaſed: which they likewiſe agreeing to, Stephen was ſet free, on the feaſt of all Saints, in the year eleven hundred and forty one, after a captivity of nine months.

A. D. 1141.

Malmſb. ibidem.

He came from Briſtol to Wincheſter, where he had a conference with the earl of Gloceſter, who had been removed from the caſtle of Rocheſter to that city, a little before There he again endeavoured to corrupt the fidelity of the earl, and draw him to his party, by the moſt ſplendid offers of favor and power under his government. But that lord remained unmoved by all theſe allurements, urging the bonds of nature and affection, which attached him to his ſiſter, the obligations of honor, and the oaths he had taken during the life of his father, which the pope had declared to be binding. He

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ſaid, it was purely his regard to thoſe oaths, not any intereſted views of his own, or hatred againſt Stephen, which had induced him to take up arms in the cauſe of Matilda; and gently reminded the king himſelf and his friends, that they had likewiſe repeatedly engaged themſelves to her by the ſame ſacred ties, and were therefore no leſs concerned than he in the deciſion ſent from the pope with regard to the validity of that engagement. Having thus nobly maintained the reputation of integrity which he had acquired, he took leave of the king, and upon his arrival at Briſtol ſet free the queen, the young prince, and the peers, who were detained there till he came; and in return received his ſon, whom he had left behind him at Wincheſter, as a hoſtage for their releaſe.

The two parties having now recovered their chiefs, and not ſeeing any proſpect of an agreement, they both prepared to renew the war with freſh vigour, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit. But, before they could take the field, the biſhop of Wincheſter began operations of a different kind, which were of the greateſt advantage to his brother. He ſummoned a legatine ſynod at Weſtminſter, on the ſeventh of December, in the year eleven hundred and forty-one, which he opened by reading a letter from the pope, wherein his Holineſs reprimanded him gently, for having acquieſced in his bro-

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Malmſb. ut ſuprà.

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brother's impriſonment; and, to atone for that fault, enjoined him to endeavour the procuring of his liberty by any means, either eccleſiaſtical or ſecular, which the neceſſity of the affair might require. This not only was ſufficient to deſtroy the impreſſion, which the earl of Gloceſter's alledging the authority of the pope in defence of his conduct, and the legate's own behaviour, had made on the clergy and people of England, but gave that prelate a pretence to juſtify his return to the party of his brother, by the reſpect which he owed to the injunctions of Rome. He employed all his eloquence to excuſe his former proceedings, affirming, that not from inclination but neceſſity he had received and acknowledged the empreſs, when, after the battle of Lincoln, ſhe came with her victorious army to Wincheſter, and found him there unable to make any reſiſtance; all the nobility having abandoned the captive king, or remaining unactive and indifferent between the two parties, till the event ſhould regulate their conduct. He ſaid, that ſhe had afterwards notoriouſly violated all her engagements in behalf of the liberty and rights of the church, which had been the terms of agreement between her and him; and moreover (as he was aſſured by undoubted intelligence) had formed ſecret machinations, with ſome of her friends, againſt his dignity, and even againſt his life; which yet the divine mercy had ſo over-ruled, that

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in the iſſue he not only had eſcaped deſtruction himſelf, but had alſo delivered his royal brother from bondage. Therefore, in the name of God and of the pope, he commanded them to aid, ſupport, and maintain, with their whole ſtrength, that prince who had been *by the election of the people and with the conſent of the apoſtolical ſee* anointed their king; and to excommunicate all thoſe diſturbers of the peace of their country who ſhould continue to adhere to the *counteſs of Anjou*.

Malmſb. ut ſuprà.

Not one of the clergy aſſembled in this ſynod made any reply to this ſpeech, or ſhewed any publick mark of diſapprobation or diſſent: ſo great an alteration had Matilda's offenſive behaviour, in the ſhort time between this and the council of Wincheſter, produced in their minds; or ſo implicit was the ſubmiſſion which they paid to the legate, and to the papal authority, with which he was inveſted! But there was in the aſſembly a layman ſent by that princeſs, who loudly and boldly reminded him of the fidelity which he had ſworn to her, adjuring him by it not to do any thing againſt her honor. Nor did he ſtop there; but ſaid, that her having come over to England was owing to repeated invitations by letters ſent from that prelate; and that his brother's captivity and detention in priſon were to be chiefly imputed to his connivance, as he had expreſly aſ-

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ſured Matilda, that he would not give him any effectual aſſiſtance. Other ſevere and rough animadverſions were thrown out upon his paſt and preſent conduct; all which it was certainly very mortifying and painful for him to hear, but which he heard with ſo perfect a command of his temper, as not to return one angry word, or even to take any notice of what had been ſaid, thinking, no doubt, that it was ſafer to ſeem to deſpiſe than attempt to confute it. When this extraordinary ſcene was paſt, the king came into the council, and made his complaints to them moſt pathetically, that his own vaſſals had taken him priſoner, and by the opprobrious indignity with which he was treated had very near killed him, though he never had done them any wrong, nor denied juſtice to any man in the whole courſe of his reign. His preſence and words greatly affected the ſynod, and, together with the influence of the legate, made them unanimouſly concur in all propoſitions to which that prelate demanded their aſſent. Stephen, having thus regained the good will of the clergy, ſeemed to be now in a fair way of recovering his kingdom. But neither party thought it proper to take the field during the winter, or to violate the religious ceſſation of arms, which it was uſual to grant from the beginning of Lent till the end of Eaſter week. Some part of that time the king employed in viſiting the more diſtant

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counties of England, that were under his government, and wanted his preſence: while Matilda, who was ſenſible how much ſhe had loſt both of reputation and ſtrength, took that opportunity to aſſemble her principal friends, in order to conſider with them what means could be found, to reſiſt the power of her enemy, which daily grew ſtronger, and to raiſe again the dejected hopes of her party. They all agreed, that, in their preſent circumſtances, it was neceſſary to try to bring over her huſband, the earl of Anjou, to England; as the only expedient which could balance the advantages Stephen had gained. Purſuant to this reſolution, ſome nobles of her faction were ſent to the earl, whom they found in Normandy; the greater part of that duchy being then ſubjected to him. They uſed their utmoſt endeavours to prevail upon him to come from thence into England, and defend the inheritance of his wife and ſon, which, without his aſſiſtance, was now in the utmoſt danger of being ſoon irrecoverably loſt. He received them with regard, but ſaid, that he would make no poſitive anſwer, unleſs to the earl of Gloceſter, as the perſon in whom he moſt confided, and with whom alone he deſired to treat on this buſineſs. It happened fortunately for Matilda, that, ſoon after Eaſter, Stephen was ſeized with a dangerous fit of ſickneſs, and did not recover till ſome time after Whitſuntide; which hindered that prince from beginning

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ning any military operations againſt her, and gave her leiſure to wait for the return of the lords whom ſhe had ſent to her huſband. They made their report to her on the thirteenth of June, at the caſtle of the Deviſes, where ſhe had again aſſembled her council. The earl of Gloceſter declared himſelf very unwilling to go out of the kingdom, urging againſt it the danger of paſſing the channel, which was then guarded by a ſquadron of the king's ſhips, and of leaving his ſiſter deprived of his care and aſſiſtance, at a time when they were more neceſſary to her than ever. But being earneſtly preſſed to go, he conſented to it at laſt, on theſe conditions, that the chief nobles preſent there ſhould deliver to him ſome of their neareſt relations, to carry over with him, as hoſtages for their fidelity in ſerving his ſiſter, and defending her perſon, during his abſence. Such an extraordinary caution implied a great ſuſpicion, and one may conclude from it, as well as from other circumſtances at this time, that her party was in danger of being ſoon diſſolved. The council however agreed, and without any apparent unwillingneſs, to the ſecurity required by the earl, who taking the hoſtages ſet ſail from Wareham, of which town he was lord, with ſeveral ſhips, and ſoon after Midſummer gained the port with only two; the others having been diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, which ſaved them all from the greater danger of being attacked in their paſſage by the ene-

Malmſb. ut ſuprà.

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my's fleet, But before I relate the ſucceſs he met with in this negotiation, it will be neceſſary to give an account of the ſtate of the dutchy of Normandy from the deceaſe of King Henry to this time. Book I.

It ſeems ſurpriſing, that neither the oaths, which the Normans had taken, during the life of that prince, to his daughter's ſucceſſion, and after her to her ſon's, nor the influence of the earl of Gloceſter, who at the time of his father's death was preſent among them, could ſecure to Matilda the inheritance of that dutchy, or even form any conſiderable party for her there. This is the more wonderful, as we are told by the beſt of the Norman hiſtorians, that no leſs a ſum than ſixty thouſand pounds, equivalent to nine hundred thouſand of our money now, was diſpoſed of by the earl, as executor to the king, from his treaſury at Falaiſe, among his ſoldiers and ſervants in that country. So bounteous a donative was enough to have purchaſed the dutchy for his daughter, though ſhe had not been acknowledged as the heireſs of it before. Yet the ſame author informs us, that immediately afterwards, Thibaud earl of Blois, the elder brother of Stephen, offering himſelf to the Normans, they were generally diſpoſed to make him their duke: but, as ſoon as they were informed of Stephen's election to the kingdom of England, they told the earl, *that, on account of the baronies*

V. Ord. Vital. l. xiii. p. 901, 902, 903.

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ronies which many among them held in both countries, they and the Engliſh muſt ſerve the ſame maſter: the truth of which maxim he either could not deny, or would not conteſt, but left them to take their own choice. It does not appear that any mention was then made of Matilda, or of her huſband. Yet the empreſs was ſoon afterwards, by the means of one of her friends, a man of low birth, but very conſiderable in talents and credit, admitted into ſome towns, of which he had been made viſcount by the favor of her father. The earl of Anjou was alſo received by the earl of Ponthieu into ſome places of which that nobleman was the lord, and from thence endeavoured to extend himſelf further: but his army committing intolerable outrages even againſt their own friends, the Normans, whoſe natural temper was not patient of injuries, preſently drove him out; and a rebellion in Anjou hindered him, for ſome time, from any further attempts. After his expulſion from Normandy, that dutchy was left without any government, though it had ſubmitted to Stephen: for that prince was not able to viſit, or take any care of it, till the year eleven hundred and thirty ſeven; during which interval the whole country was deſolated by ſeveral factions of the nobles, who, with great animoſity and miſerable ravages of each other's eſtates, proſecuted their own quarrels under the pretence of ſerving their party. Among theſe the moſt powerful

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was Waleran earl of Meulant; whom Stephen had betrothed to one of his daughters, a child of two years old, and, while he himſelf was in England, put him at the head of his friends and forces in Normandy. About the latter end of September, in the year eleven hundred and thirty ſix, the earl of Anjou a ſecond time invaded that duchy, with much greater forces than before, being now accompanied by the duke of Aquitaine, and other princes of France. They took ſome caſtles; but having ſet down before Monſtrueil were ſoon obliged to raiſe the ſiege: and when they had afterwards inveſted Liſieux, the garriſon of that city, deſpairing to ſave it, rather than they would ſurrender it to the earl of Anjou, ſet it on fire: ſo great was the averſion of the Normans in general to the Angevin government, from the ſtrong impreſſions the long wars between the two countries had ſtill left in their minds; and this was much ſharpened by the very barbarous manner in which the confederate army now acted: for moſt of them being volunteers and irregular forces, out of many different provinces, they could not eaſily be reſtrained, by the power of their chiefs, from rapine, ſacrilege, and other enormities; which, added to the outrages that had before been committed by the Angevin troops, during their late abode in Normandy, excited a violent indignation againſt them, and totally alienated the hearts of the people from Matilda and

Ord. Vit. l. xiii. p. 905: 906, 907, 908.

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her huſband. They were, beſides, ſo intemperate, that they ſoon became very ſickly: and, to complete their diſaſters, the earl of Anjou himſelf, beſieging a caſtle, received a dangerous wound in one of his feet; which, together with a dyſentery that raged in his army, ſo diſpirited him and them, that, although a powerful reinforcement of ſome thouſand men, conducted by the empreſs in perſon, arrived that night, they raiſed the ſiege the next morning, and retired haſtily out of Normandy, plundering the country through which they paſſed, without diſtinction of friends from foes. The Norman troops, who were appriſed how much the earl had been ſtrengthened, had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of his retiring; and did not begin to purſue him, on the diſcovery of it, till he had advanced a good way: ſo that the loſs which he ſuſtained in repaſſing the Sart was not very conſiderable: but as he travelled through a foreſt within his own territories he was attacked by a ſtrong party of out-lawed freebooters, and narrowly eſcaped with his life, his wardrobe and plate being taken and one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber killed. The earl of Meulant likewiſe defeated ſome of Matilda's adherents, who had made an incurſion into the county of Eu, and took priſoner their general, Roger de Conchis, with two other noblemen of great diſtinction.

Ord. Vital. l. xiii. p. 909, 910. ſub ann. 1136, 1137.

All theſe ſucceſſes, joined to the proſperity of Stephen in England during the courſe of

of this year, confirmed to that prince the dominion of Normandy, which he at laſt found time to viſit, arriving there with William of Ipres and a body of Flemings, early in the ſpring of the year eleven hundred and thirty ſeven. After ſome ſtay in the chief cities, he went into France to confer with Louis le Gros, renewed the alliance which his predeceſſor had made between the two crowns, and received the inveſtiture of the duchy, under the uſual form of homage to France. Louis, old and infirm, was inclined to conſider poſſeſſion as the beſt right, and had good reaſons of policy, as king of France, not to be willing that Anjou and Normandy ſhould be under one vaſſal. It may be alſo preſumed that he was biaſſed in favour of Stephen by the powerful mediation of the earl of Blois; who, having given up his own claim to the dutchy, employed, in behalf of his brother, all the influence he had over that prince, who equally feared and eſteemed him. Yet, though the conſent of the ſovereign had thus been obtained to inveſt the king of England with this great fief, the earl of Anjou did not depart from the pretenſions he had to it in right of his wife: but Stephen ſent againſt him a body of his mercenaries under William of Ipres, to which he joined ſome Norman troops, remaining himſelf on the other ſide of the Seine, where he was employed in reducing the caſtles and towns of one of his barons, who had taken up arms for Matilda.

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William of Ipres desired to give battle to the earl; but the Normans who were with him opposed that advice and even refused their assistance, upon which he and his forces repassed the Seine, and, with heavy complaints against them, returned to the king. The cause of this difference was a jealousy conceived by the Normans against these foreign mercenaries, whom they justly suspected as instruments of arbitrary power, and could not bear to see employed, both in England and Normandy, preferably to the national troops of those countries. Indeed it was a very ungrateful return for the obligations Stephen had to the English and Normans, on whose affection he certainly might have relied at that time, and by whose arms he might have been much better secured against the Angevin party, than he could by this illegal and dangerous force, which seemed designed, not so much to resist the attacks of his enemies, as to overpower the liberties of his subjects. But instead of being warned aud convinced of his error by the first symptoms of discontent, he argued from thence that these mercenaries were necessary to him, and placed a greater confidence in them and their general, as being the surest and firmest supports of his power. Nor did he dissemble these thoughts; but treated the nobility of England and Normandy with an apparent distrust, while he lavished his favors upon William of Ipres, and

Ord. Vit. ut prà.

and made him his confident in all his moſt ſecret affairs. What was the effect of this behaviour in England has already been ſhewn. It had the ſame conſequences in Normandy; and it was there that the violence of the diſſatisfaction ariſing from it, and the danger of it to Stephen, were firſt diſcovered. That prince, upon the return of William of Ipres, immediately put himſelf at the head of his army, and would have led them to fight the earl of Anjou's adherents, as his favorite had adviſed: but all the Norman barons, diſguſted and irritated at being obliged to ſerve with the Flemings, appeared very backward, and endeavoured to diſſuade the king from his enterprize: but he perſiſted in it obſtinately, againſt their advice, and marching to the enemy, the animoſity between the Normans and Flemings broke out with ſo much fury, that they came even to blows; and much blood was ſhed on both ſides, before the tumult could be appeaſed by all the authority or interceſſions of Stephen. Nor yet did the ſedition end with the combat: for preſently afterwards, moſt of the young Norman barons led off their vaſſals, and left the king, who, equally agitated with anger and with fear, upon ſuch a deſertion, followed them ſeveral miles, and coming up with them, expoſtulated, threatened, entreated and ſoothed, till in the concluſion they were pacified and reconciled to him: but ſo much uneaſineſs remained on both ſides

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that, inſtead of attacking the enemy, he accepted a truce of two years, which the earl of Anjou propoſed to him, from motives not explained in the hiſtories of thoſe times. Perhaps the earl had intelligence of a conſpiracy forming againſt himſelf in Anjou, Touraine, or Maine: for it appears that theſe provinces were not abſolutely free from inteſtine commotions: or he might ſeek a delay till the earl of Gloceſter had taken all the neceſſary meaſures before he declared againſt Stephen. Without ſome motive of great weight ſo able a prince would not have propoſed a ceſſation of arms, when the troops of his enemy were more incenſed againſt each other than againſt him, and could not be brought into one camp, or made to act together in any joint operations.

Ord. Vit. l. xiii. p. 111. ſub ann. 1137. Suger. in vit. Lud. Groſſi.

This truce was concluded in the month of July of the year eleven hundred and thirty ſeven. On the firſt of Auguſt died at Paris Louis the Sixth, ſurnamed le Gros, from the corpulence of his perſon, a much nobler ſurname might have been properly given to him from the qualities of his mind: He deſerved to have been called the Good, or the Juſt. His whole reign was paſſed in conſtant ſtruggles with the inſolence, the licentiouſneſs, and the tyranny of his nobles, againſt whoſe oppreſſions he royally defended his people, maintaining his laws by his arms, and permitting no crimes to eſcape his juſtice. Thus far

far he much reſembled our Henry the Firſt; but in policy he was not a match for that king. Yet he deſerves no leſs eſteem: for in goodneſs of heart he was greatly his ſuperior, and had ſcarce any equal among all the contemporary princes. He loſt his health, and at laſt his life, by the fatigues he ſuſtained, in beſieging caſtle after caſtle, where any flagitious or turbulent perſon had broken or endangered the peace of his realm. Abbot Suger, his principal miniſter, tells us, that he would often lament the unhappy condition of human life, in which to *know* much, and *act* much, is ſeldom or never in our power together; adding, that if he had *known* in his youth, what he *knew* in his age, or could *act* in his age with the ſame vigour as he *acted* in his youth, he ſhould have been able to conquer many kingdoms. Yet that hiſtorian affirms, that, even in the latter years of his reign, broken as he was with inceſſant toils, and heavy from a too corpulent habit of body, if any thing happened in any part of his kingdom, by which the royal majeſty was hurt or offended, he never ſuffered it to continue unchaſtiſed. His dying words to his ſon were admirable. *Remember*, ſaid he, *and have it always before your eyes, that the royal authority is a publick charge, of which you muſt render, after your death, a ſtrict account*. In the year eleven hundred and thirty-one he unfortunately loſt his eldeſt ſon Philip, a very hopeful youth; who while he

Suger. in vit. Lud. Groſſi. p. 319.

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was riding in the ſuburbs of Paris, was thrown down and killed, by a hog running ſuddenly under the feet of his horſe. The ſtrangeneſs of the accident aggravated the loſs, and put the fortitude of the father to a terrible proof; but he bore it with the heroiſm of a good chriſtian and a great king. His grief did not hinder him from immediately thinking of the moſt proper meaſures to guard his people and family againſt the ill conſequences of this unhappy event. For, preſently afterwards, Innocent the Second holding a general council at Rheims in Champagne, the afflicted monarch brought Louis, his ſecond ſon, to that city, and cauſed him, in the preſence of all the aſſembly, to be anointed and crowned king, though under thirteen years old, by the hands of the pope, *in order* (ſays Suger) *to prevent the diſturbances which other competitors for the crown might excite:* remarkable words, which ſhew the reaſon of the practice eſtabliſhed in France of crowning the ſon during the life of the father, and prove that a regular courſe of hereditary ſucceſſion was not yet abſolutely ſettled in that kingdom, any more than in England. This is alſo confirmed by another contemporary hiſtorian, who ſays, "That many both of the clergy "and laity were diſpleaſed with this act; for "ſome of the lay-peers had conceived hopes "of a higher advancement after the death of "Louis le Gros, and the eccleſiaſticks de-

"fired

V. Suger. in vita Ludov. Groſſi Regis. p. 319,

V. Ord. Vit. l. xiii. p. 895. 896.

"fired to have an opportunity of exerciſing "*the right of electing a king*. From which "cauſes ſeveral among them murmured in "ſecret againſt this meaſure, and would "undoubtedly have been glad to prevent it, "if it had been in their power." He afterwards ſays, *That there were ſome who attempted to exclude all the iſſue of the king from the throne.* I ſhall only obſerve, that if this account be well founded, the reaſon for it muſt probably have been the minority of the king's children; as no other objection could be made againſt them. But the young prince being thus crowned without any declared oppoſition, France was quiet for ſome time; and as ſoon as he came to an age of maturity, he gained more by a marriage, than all the greateſt of his royal predeceſſors, ſince Charlemagne, had won by the ſword. For William the Ninth, duke of Aquitaine, having died without iſſue male, in the ſpring of the year eleven hundred and thirty ſeven, bequeathed his dominions to Eleanor, his eldeſt daughter, who was then about thirteen years old, and declared, it was his deſire, *if his barons agreed to it*, that ſhe ſhould be given in marriage to the young king of France: which being confirmed by their conſent, the offer was made before the death of Louis le Gros. That prince and his ſon accepted it with joy, as they had great reaſon to do; for nothing could be more advantageous to France than uniting to the crown thoſe extenſive

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tenſive dominions, which at this time comprehended the two dutchies of Gaſcony and Guienne, the earldom of Poictou, the province of Biſcaye, and ſome other countries at the foot of the Pyrenean mountains. Eleanor herſelf was pleaſed with the match; for Louis was handſome; and ſhe was by no means inſenſible either to love or ambition. Her face was agreeable, her perſon majeſtick, her wit lively and ſharp, her temper gay and inclining to levity; which the genius of the French nation was more diſpoſed to pardon than any other fault. All parties therefore concurring to approve of this marriage, it was celebrated at Bourdeaux, in the preſence of moſt of the nobility of Aquitaine; Eleanor at the ſame time being crowned queen of France: after which Louis and ſhe went together to Poictiers, where, on the eighth of Auguſt eleven hundred and thirty ſeven, he received the coronet of the dukes of Guienne, and ordered the title of DVX AQVITANICVS to be engraved on his ſeal; it being underſtood that his marriage gave him the entire poſſeſſion and government of all the territories which belonged to his wife. Some lords of Xaintonge refuſed indeed to ſubmit to him; but they were ſubdued by him, without difficuly, as he paſſed through their country, and forced to concur with the other barons of Aquitaine, in paying obedience to the teſtamentary ſettlement made by their duke. Thus did this young prince

Suger. p. 321. Ord. Vital. p. 911. l. xiii.

See Mabillon de re diplomatica.

prince acquire theſe dominions, the maſters of which had vied, in power and wealth, with the kings of France, their ſovereigns, and being deſcended from Childebrand, brother of Charles Martel, thought themſelves equal, at leaſt, in their genealogy, to the race of Hugh Capet. But his father had not the pleaſure of ſeeing him after his marriage; the heat of the ſummer, which was more violent than had ever been known in thoſe parts, and could hardly be endured by the ſtrongeſt conſtitutions, having ſo impaired his weak health, that he died from the effects of it, in the ſixtieth year of his age and the thirtieth of his reign, after extraordinary acts of contrition and penitence, which not ſo much the faults of his life, as the tenderneſs of his conſcience, and ſome ſuperſtition mixed with his piety, made him impoſe on himſelf. During the autumn that followed the deceaſe of this king Normandy was diſturbed by civil commotions, which the truce lately concluded between Stephen and Geoffry did not appeaſe, though it enabled the former to ſettle his power more firmly there, than he could poſſibly have done without that advantage. Before the end of the year he was obliged to return into England, and leave his dutchy under the government of two Norman barons; one of whom, being ſoon afterwards drawn into an ambuſh by ſome nobles of the Angevin party, was ſlain; but the other maintained his

Ord. Vid. l. xiii. p. 911. 916.

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his truſt, with ſpirit and good conduct, till May the next year, when William of Ipres and the earl of Meulant, arriving with more forces, took the chief command and authority in thoſe parts. It was a ſtrange obſtinacy in the king to perſiſt in employing the former of theſe lords, where he was ſo diſagreeable: but it is the fate of weak princes to think that they are never ſo well ſerved as by thoſe, of whoſe authority their people complain the moſt, and to make the publick hatred a ground of their confidence; as if ſuch perſons, having no other ſtrength or protection to depend upon for ſupport, muſt belong more to them, and be more devotedly attached to their intereſt. This, with the vanity of ſupporting the choice he had made, determined Stephen to continue his Engliſh and Norman affairs under the management of William of Ipres, though he had ſuch evident proofs of the diſſatisfaction it produced in both countries. The earl of Meulant indeed was leſs odious to the Normans, as not being a foreigner; but neither was he much beloved, being a man who had more pride than greatneſs of mind, and more cunning than wiſdom. The arrival of theſe miniſters, whoſe unpopularity hurt their party, as much as the force they brought over with them could do it good, did not prevent the earl of Gloceſter from executing the plan, which he had for ſome time been forming. About the beginning of

of June he took up arms, and joined the earl of Anjou, who, regardleſs of the truce, which was not yet expired, came into Normandy, and by means of that nobleman's intelligence with him got poſſeſſion of Bayeux, Caen, and ſeveral other towns: but the king's troops having been ſtrengthened by a large reinforcement, he retired again into his own dominions, leaving the towns, which he had gained, well ſecured with good garriſons, under the care of the earl of Gloceſter. All the abilities of that lord were now employed in perſuading the Norman nobility to follow his example in the part he had taken; and by his authority, added to the ſtrong inſtigation of their own diſcontents, ſome of them were induced to forſake the king: but a majority adhered to him, either for fear of loſing their Engliſh eſtates, or out of diſlike to the earl of Anjou, who, though he was a prince of great merit, had not found the art of gaining their affections. During the autum of this year, the king being detained by the troubles in England, and his two generals recalled from Normandy to his aſſiſtance, Geoffry, made other attempts on that dutchy, but failed in his enterprizes and returned home with ſome diſhonor. Things remained there in much the ſame ſituation; both factions keeping poſſeſſion of the towns they had got, from whence they infeſted the whole country; the barons making a cruel war on each other;

Ord. Vital. ſub ann. 1138.

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other; and the people being equally ruined by all; till February in the year eleven hundred and forty, when a very important alteration was made, with relation to this dutchy, by Stephen and France. For the former, by means of the treaſure he had taken from the biſhop of Saliſbury, obtained of Louis le Jeune the princeſs Conſtantia, a ſiſter of that king, and with her, by way of dower, the inveſtiture of Normandy, for his eldeſt ſon Euſtace, deſiring to make over to him his own title, in hopes that the French monarch would do more to ſupport the claim of a brother-in-law, than Louis le Gros had done for him. He certainly might expect to draw great advantages from ſuch an alliance, not only in Normandy, but alſo in England; and might think he did not purchaſe it at too dear a rate, though, inſtead of the lady's bringing a portion to his ſon, he was forced to procure the match by a very large ſum, which he could but ill afford, beſides diveſting himſelf of the dutchy. Nevertheleſs the king of France went no further than to mediate between him and Matilda, till after the battle of Lincoln; nor even then did he give any effectual aſſiſtance to him or his ſon. Euſtace, unaided by that prince, and not come to an age of maturity, could do nothing for himſelf; and the Normans conſidered his party as abſolutely ruined by the defeat of his father. Yet ſo very unwilling were moſt of them to ſubmit

Gerv. Chron. p. 1350. H. Huntingd. l. viii. f. 223. Brompton Chron. p. 1027.

Ord. Vital. l. xiii. p. 923. ſub ann. 1141.

mit to Matilda, or to her huſband, that, as ſoon as ever the news of Stephen's captivity was brought into Normandy, the archbiſhop of Rouen and all the principal barons offered their dutchy once more to the earl of Blois, and propoſed to aſſiſt him in ſubduing England: a propoſal too extravagant, as well as too odious, to be received by the earl, who would have incurred the deteſtation of all mankind, by coveting the ſpoils of his brother and nephew, inſtead of aiding them in their calamity. But even ſome parts of Normandy were not, at that time, in the power of thoſe who made him this offer; and there was no proſpect of ſucceſs in an attempt upon England, where he would have been equally oppoſed by both parties. He therefore refuſed to engage in ſuch undertakings, unfit for a prince of his reputation; but ably availed himſelf of the overtures made to him on the part of the Normans, to treat with the earl of Anjou, whom he agreed to acknowledge, both as duke of Normandy and king of England, on condition that he ſhould give up the city of Tours, to which the earls of Blois had an ancient claim, ſet Stephen free, and reſtore to him all the poſſeſſions, he had enjoyed before he was made king. None of theſe articles were performed by the earl of Anjou, who had not indeed the power of executing that part of the treaty which related to Stephen. Nevertheleſs the earl of Blois perſevered

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perſevered in his purpoſe, not to embroil himſelf in the troubles of Normandy. Geoffry, being therefore ſecure on that ſide, and acting with vigour, while the Normans were ſtunned and diſpirited by the ſucceſs of Matilda in England, made himſelf maſter of a great part of the dutchy, either by force, or by agreement with ſome of the nobles, who, upon terms of advantage ſtipulated for themſelves, gave up to him what they found they could not defend. But many places of ſtrength continued in the cuſtody of Stephen's adherents, who, being encouraged by the favorable change of affairs that happened in England, were ſtill unſubdued when the earl of Gloceſter came over from thence into Normandy, ſent by Matilda, to negotiate with her huſband. The earl of Anjou received him with all poſſible marks of eſteem and affection: but, being preſſed by him to go, without delay, into England, as the only expedient left of ſupporting the cauſe of his wife and ſon in that realm, he excuſed himſelf from it, by pleading the danger of withdrawing his perſon or forces from Normandy, while ſo large a portion of that dutchy yet remained unreduced. The earl of Gloceſter, to remove this objection, attended him into the field, and ſerved under his orders, till they had taken ten caſtles, among which were ſome of great importance. But Rouen, the capital city, was ſtill in the power of their enemies;

Chron. Norm. p. 979, 980. Ord. Vital. l. xiii. p. 923. Gerv. Chron. p. 1857. ſub ann. 1142. Malmſb. hiſt. nov. f. 109, 110.

and Geoffry eſteemed his poſſeſſion of Normandy neither compleat nor ſecure, till that was ſubdued. He alledged other cauſes for his not being inclined to paſs the ſea, particularly the fear of a rebellion in Anjou, which he had ſome grounds to expect, if he removed too far from the borders of that earldom. There was perhaps, a ſecret reaſon, which had more weight in his mind than all other objections, viz. the difficulty of ſettling with Matilda herſelf and the barons of England, what ſhare of royalty ſhould be given to him in and over that kingdom. For neither was ſhe of a temper to part with the ſovereignty veſted in her by the will of her father, nor did he like to reſide there as her ſubject; and none of the Engliſh had yet expreſſed the leaſt inclination to receive him as their king. This in all probability had before made him unwilling to go into that kingdom, and was the chief cauſe of his backwardneſs at this time. That he deſired the title of king of England appears from the treaty he made with the earl of Blois; and when he ſent for the earl of Gloceſter, it might be with an intention to ſound him on that point, which, by the influence of this lord over his ſiſter and her party, he might hope to gain at that criſis. But it may be preſumed, that when he had conferred with him upon the affair, he found no encouragement; and this might well produce a diſguſt, which, together with the unſettled condition of Nor-

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mandy, and his dread of troubles in Anjou, determined him to refuſe the requeſt of Matilda. All that her brother could prevail upon him to do, after much interceſſion, was to ſend over Prince Henry Plantagenet, his eldeſt ſon, then between eight and nine years old, to encourage and animate his party in England by the ſight of a prince, to whom they had ſworn allegiance when he was in his cradle, and who could not yet have given them any offence. This was the more wanting, as they were alienated ſo much from his mother by her ill conduct; beſides the objections which the nation in general had to her government on account of her ſex. To give a new and better object of hope to the wiſe, and zeal to the multitude, was doubtleſs good policy. But, while the earl of Gloceſter was employed in perſuading the earl of Anjou, by theſe and other reaſons, to let him carry over the young prince into England, he was obliged by the ill news he received from that country to haſten his return to it; the events, which had happened during his abſence, having ſhewn that his apprehenſions upon leaving his ſiſter, to go into Normandy, had been well founded. For very ſoon afterwards, the king, having entirely recovered his health, and ſeeking to revenge the ill uſage he had ſuffered, proſecuted the war with great vigour. He felt the advantage he had in the earl of Gloceſter's being out of the kingdom, and improved

Malmſb. hiſt. nov. l. ii. f. 110.

Gerv. Chron. ſub ann. 1142. Malmſb. hiſt. nov. l. ii. f. 110. H. Huntingd. l. viii. f. 225. Geſt. Steph. Regis, l. ii. p. 958. 959.

ved it to the utmoſt. His firſt enterprize was againſt Wareham caſtle, which, being but weakly garriſoned, was ſoon taken. He then marched into Gloceſterſhire, came on a ſudden to Cirenceſter, ſurpriſed the caſtle and burnt it to the ground. From thence he proceeded with equal celerity to two other caſtles, ſituated on the road between Cirenceſter and Oxford, which Matilda had fortified as out-guards and barriers, for her greater ſecurity during her abode in that city. The ſtrongeſt of theſe he took by ſtorm, the other by capitulation; and, having thus opened his way to Oxford, unexpectedly appeared before the town. According to an hiſtorian who lived in thoſe days, it was then ſurrounded by waters ſo as to be thought inacceſſible, and was further ſecured by the beſt fortifications in uſe at that time. The caſtle and tower, which covered one ſide of it, were accounted impregnable; and there the empreſs reſided: ſo that neither ſhe nor her council apprehended any danger; eſpecially as they thought the king at a diſtance, and had no idea that he could with ſuch expedition have reduced all the forts which barred his way. When his army was ſeen upon the outward bank of the river, before the walls of the town, the garriſon ſallied out, and confidently ſuppoſing that it could not be paſſed, advanced to the brink of it, from whence their archers ſecurely infeſted his

Geſt. Steph. Reg. l. ii. p. 958.

Geſt. Steph. Reg. l. ii. p. 959.

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cavalry with ſhowers of arrrows, and ſome among them derided him in a ſcurrilous manner. Incenſed at their inſolence, he pointed out to his ſoldiers a part of the river, where he remembered that there had been a ford, and ſetting ſpurs to his horſe courageouſly plunged into it himſelf. The whole cavalry followed; and though even there the water was ſo deep, that it forced the horſes to ſwim, they paſſed it ſafely, and charging the enemy, who ſtood motionleſs, from their aſtoniſhment at the boldneſs of this attempt, immediately broke them; and not only drove them into the town, but entered it with them; and after they had ſet fire to ſeveral parts of it, killed or took priſoners moſt of the garriſon: thoſe only eſcaping, who were able to gain admittance into the caſtle.

This was much the moſt ſpirited action, that on either ſide had been done in the whole courſe of the war; and by the happy ſucceſs of it Stephen ſaw himſelf, almoſt in an inſtant, poſſeſſed of a city, which it muſt have coſt him the labour of many months to reduce by the tardy approaches of a regular ſiege. But what gave him moſt joy was the hope, that, in conſequence of this fortunate temerity, he ſhould make the imperious Matilda his captive, after having been her's. For he held her ſhut up in the caſtle, as in a priſon, and aſſured himſelf that at length he ſhould be maſter of that fortreſs, either by

force

force or by famine. To have the advantage of both methods, he aſſaulted it furiouſly with battering engines, and at the ſame time ſhut up all acceſs to it from the country by cloſeſt blockade. The barons, who had pledged their faith to the earl of Gloceſter, that they would guard his ſiſter from all danger during his abſence, ſeeing her now ſo unhappily expoſed by their negligence, aſſembled at Wallingford, and there reſolved to fight with Stephen, if by any means they could draw him into the field: but he wiſely continued his ſiege, without accepting the battle which they offered; nor durſt they attack him within the fortifications with which he was covered: he was in no want of proviſions, the town being full of them; and they found it impoſſible to prevent him from receiving any ſupplies he might want, by his communication with London, as he commanded the whole country between that city and Oxford: ſo that, after ſeveral vain conſultations about it, they drew off their forces, leaving Matilda in deſpair of any relief. But her invincible ſpirit made her hold out beyond their hopes, preferring death to captivity, and animating her garriſon, which was chiefly compoſed of the knights and officers of her houſhold, with her own courage. She was in this ſituation, when the news of her danger reached the earl of Gloceſter, who thereupon took a haſty leave of the earl of Anjou, and with

Malmſb. hiſt. nov l. ii. f. 110. Geſt. Steph. Reg. p. 959.

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Prince Henry, his nephew, ſet ſail for England. His voyage was proſperous, and he arrived, with a force of between three and four hundred knights, in his own port of Wareham, about the beginning of November, in the year eleven hundred and forty two. He found the caſtle in that town poſſeſſed by a garriſon of the king's troops, who agreed to yield it to him at the end of three weeks, if their maſter did not relieve it before that term. But neither the loſs of this place, nor any other detriment his party might ſuffer, appeared to Stephen a ſufficient motive to abandon the great object he had in view. He determined, and publickly declared to his friends, that he would not depart out of Oxford, nor ſend away any detachment of his forces from thence, on any account whatſoever, till the caſtle was ſurrendered to him, and the empreſs herſelf delivered into his hands. The garriſon of Wareham, upon receiving this anſwer, gave up the fort; and the earl of Gloceſter ſoon afterwards took the iſle of Portland, which Stephen had fortified, and alſo Lulworth caſtle. As neither William of Ipres, nor any other nobleman on the king's ſide, made head to oppoſe him, it may be preſumed that they were all employed with that prince in beſieging Matilda, except thoſe to whoſe charge his moſt important towns and fortreſſes were committed. Indeed the length of the civil war had by this time ſo exhauſted the

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the ſtrength of the kingdom, and garriſons were to be found for ſo many caſtles, that a thouſand men at arms are ſpoken of by hiſtorians as a great army. The force which the earl of Gloceſter had brought over from Normandy, joined to ſome of his vaſſals, was therefore ſufficient to give him a ſuperiority upon that coaſt: but none of theſe conqueſts were of much uſe to the party, while the perſon of the empreſs continued in danger; a danger which every moment grew more alarming, as ſhe had now been beſieged above two months, and began to ſuffer great diſtreſs for want of proviſions. Senſible of this, her brother exerted all his power with the party, to induce them to make an extraordinary effort, and riſk the attacking of Stephen within Oxford walls, rather than permit him to accompliſh his purpoſe of taking Matilda. He ſent a general ſummons to all her adherents to meet him at Cirenceſter, declaring his intention to lead them directly to Oxford. They came at his call, admitted the neceſſity of what he propoſed, and were on their march to put it in execution, when, to their infinite ſurprize and joy, they heard ſhe was ſafe in the caſtle of Wallingford.

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſupra.

But what means this very wonderful eſcape was effected we are not well informed. The contemporary author of *the Acts of King Stephen* ſays, that the empreſs, reduced to the utmoſt extremity for want of all food and

Geſt. Steph. Reg. l. ii. p. 959.

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neceſſaries of life, and deſpairing of ſuccour, went out of the caſtle, by night, accompanied only by three knights of her houſhold, whom for their prudence ſhe choſe to be her attendants upon this occaſion, without the knowledge of the reſt of her garriſon; and, being conducted by one of the enemy's army, whom ſhe had gained, paſſed over the Thames, which then happened to be frozen ſo hard as to bear, and through the midſt of the king's troops, which were poſted very thick on the other ſide of the river, till with great labour and difficulty ſhe got ſafe to Abingdon, after having walked almoſt ſix miles, through a deep ſnow. Some authors later than this, yet near to thoſe times, have added this circumſtance, that ſhe and all her attendants were cloathed in white linen, to be leſs diſtinguiſhed in the ſnow, and the more eaſily eſcape obſervation. But William of Malmſbury, who was moſt likely to know the truth, confeſſes his ignorance as to the circumſtances of her eſcape, and ſays, all he could learn with certainty about it was, that, upon the alarm of the earl of Gloceſter's approach, many of the king's forces at Oxford deſerted, and the reſt became more negligent than they had been before, in keeping watch about the caſtle; their thoughts not being ſo much employed on that object as on the battle they expected to fight: that this was obſerved by the citizens, who, favouring the empreſs, gave her intelligence

V. H. Hunt. l. viii. f. 225. Gerv. Chron. ut Hoveden. ann. p. 1. ſub ann. 1142. Brompton p. 1032. Neubrigenſis, l. i. c. 10. Malmſb. hiſt. nov. l. ii. f. 110.

of

of it by ſome means or other; upon which ſhe went out of a poſtern gate, with four knights, paſſed the river Thames, and walked on foot as far as Abingdon, where ſhe took horſe, and rode from thence to Wallingford caſtle. The ſame hiſtorian ſays in another place, that many perſons had joined the king's army at Oxford, more out of greedineſs to obtain a ſhare in the booty they expected to find in the caſtle, than enmity to the empreſs. Among theſe it is very probable ſome were corrupted, to ſuffer her to paſs by their poſts unmoleſted. Upon the whole we have certainly reaſon to ſuſpect, that there was a ſecret in this affair which never was publiſhed, and more than one traitor in the army of Stephen. Otherwiſe he might juſtly be accuſed of ſuch negligence, as would be unpardonable in a commander, and can hardly be ſuppoſed in one of his active and vigilant character.

Matilda had often been ſaved beyond all hope, juſt when ſhe ſeemed on the very brink of deſtruction; and her former eſcapes out of Arundel caſtle, London, and Wincheſter, were not ſo ſurpriſing as this: but whatever obligations ſhe had in it to fortune, ſhe owed yet more to her own dauntleſs and maſculine courage. Indeed ſhe had a mind which could not bear proſperity, but which adverſity could not conquer. That ſpirit which power rendered haughty and inſolent was intrepid in danger and great in misfortune.

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fortune. As ſoon as Stephen was informed of her being at Wallingford, he offered terms to the garriſon of the caſtle of Oxford, which they accepted, and immediately ſurrendered it to him: an acquiſition of conſequence, and which, if he had not loſt a greater prize, would have been matter of great joy and triumph to his party. During the reſt of the winter all was quiet, and the empreſs was paid for all that ſhe had ſuffered, by the ſight of her ſon, whom the earl of Gloceſter brought to her at Wallingford Caſtle. He was afterwards carried to Briſtol, and continued there four years, under the care of his uncle, who trained him up in ſuch exerciſes as were moſt proper to form his body for war, and in thoſe ſtudies which might embelliſh and ſtrengthen his mind. The earl of Gloceſter himſelf had no inconſiderable tincture of learning, and was the patron of all who excelled in it: qualities rare at all times in a nobleman of his high rank, but particularly in an age when knowledge and valour were thought incompatible, and not to be able to read was a mark of nobility. This truly great man broke through that cloud of barbarous ignorance, and, after the example of his father King Henry, enlarged his underſtanding and humanized his mind by a commerce with the muſes, which he aſſiduouſly cultivated, even in courts and camps, ſhewing by his conduct how uſeful it was both to the ſtateſman and

Gerv. Chron. p. 1358. ſub. ann. 1142.

See Malmſb. f. 98.

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and the general. The ſame love of ſcience and literature he infuſed into his nephew, who under his influence began to acquire what he never afterwards loſt, an ardour for ſtudy and a knowledge of books not to be found in any other prince of thoſe times. Indeed the four years which he now paſſed in England laid the foundation of all that was afterwards moſt excellent in him; for his earlieſt impreſſions were taken from his uncle, who, not only in learning, but in all other perfections, in magnanimity, valour, prudence, and all moral virtues, was the beſt example that could be propoſed to his imitation. Nor was it a ſmall advantage to him that he was removed from the luxury of a court, and bred up among ſoldiers in the conſtant practice of chivalry, which gave a manly turn to his mind, and made him deſpiſe a life of effeminate ſloth. In this ſituation the earl of Gloceſter was able to keep from him the ſmooth poiſon of flattery, and the firſt leſſons he learned were thoſe of truth. While he was thus formed to greatneſs by a good education, the kingdom he was born to inherit was fought for, with alternate ſucceſs, by the empreſs his mother, and Stephen. So many ſudden, and wonderful changes of fortune, as both of theſe experienced, during the courſe of this war, are not to be found in any other hiſtory, and hardly in any well-invented romance. The great ſuperiority that Stephen had gained in the

See Petri Bleſenſis epiſt. 66.

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the year eleven hundred and forty two ſeemed to promiſe him a deciſive ſucceſs in the next, notwithſtanding the eſcape of Matilda from Oxford. But the event was not anſwerable to theſe expectations. For, after a vain attempt on Wareham caſtle, which ended only in ruining the country about it, by the barbarous ravages of his mercenary troops, he endeavoured to build a fort at Wilton, or rather to fortify a nunnery there, which was conveniently ſituated to bridle the excurſions of the garriſon of Sarum, and of other caſtles and towns that were held for the empreſs in that part of the realm. The profanation was authoriſed by the biſhop of Wincheſter, who, at the head of his vaſſals, attended the king his brother upon this ſervice, to which all the barons of their party were ſummoned and many came; but while the reſt were on their march, the earl of Gloceſter, who diligently watched all the motions that the enemy made, collected his friends, and before thoſe ſupplies could join the king came ſuddenly upon him at Wilton, and attacked him with ſo much ſpirit, that the greater part of his army was inſtantly routed. He would himſelf have been either ſlain, or again taken priſoner, if the brave William Martel, his ſeneſchall, had not made a ſtand for ſome time, with a few of his own vaſſals, againſt the whole force of the enemy, and ſtopped them till the king and his brother had eſcaped: but after having

Gerv. Chron. ſub ann. 1143.

Geſt. Steph. Reg. l. ii. p. 959, 960. Neubrigenſis, l. i. c. 10.

having done the utmoſt that valour overpowered by numbers could do, he was forced to yield himſelf priſoner, and could not obtain his liberty from the empreſs, till he had ſurrendered to her his caſtle of Shirburn, accounted at that time one of the keys of the realm. All Stephen's baggage, the gold and ſilver plate belonging to his table, and other rich utenſils of his houſhold, were taken and plundered. It happened well for him that the action did not begin till after ſun-ſet; ſo that darkneſs coming on aſſiſted his flight. But the diſhonor and ill conſequences of ſuch a defeat he could not eſcape. They were ſo detrimental to him, that, ſoon afterwards, the lately dejected Matilda ſaw herſelf miſtreſs of one half of the kingdom.

Nor was it in England only that fortune now ſeemed to ſmile upon her party. During the courſe of this year the earl of Anjou got poſſeſſion of the city of Rouen, and aſſumed to himſelf the ſtyle and title of duke of Normandy, which dutchy he appears to have held independently of Matilda, and not in her name, but his own. Yet the oaths which the Normans had taken in the life-time of her father, with regard to the ſucceſſion, had been to her, not to him, and after her to her ſon. But it was generally underſtood in thoſe days, that, when the ſucceſſion to a fief devolved on a woman, the adminiſtration and profits of it, if ſhe had

Chron. Norm. p. 981. ſub ann. 1143.

V. Crag. Feudorum, l. i. t. 11. c. 4. p. 116.

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had a huſband, belonged to him, in virtue of the marriage. And this properly aroſe from the genius of fiefs, which requiring the performance of ſervices to which women were by nature unſuitable, the huſband was, on that account, preferred to the wife. The whole ſex indeed had been excluded from fiefs in their original inſtitution; but although that principle was now departed from, or at leaſt not univerſally and ſtrictly obſerved, the reaſon of it continued to prevail ſo far, as to transfer all the rights and feudal duties of the wife to the huſband, wherever a fief was allowed, in caſe of the want of heirs male, to deſcend to a female. It even extended to ſome kingdoms; as, for inſtance, to that of Jeruſalem, which was governed by Fulk earl of Anjou, the father of Geoffry, in virtue of his marriage. But it does not appear that the Engliſh nation ever received this rule of law with regard to the crown, though they did, at this time, with regard to private eſtates.

V. Crag. Feudorum, l. ii. tit. 14. p. 170.

Among the Norman nobility, who aſſiſted Geoffry in beſieging the caſtle of Rouen, was Waleran earl of Meulant; which is very ſurpriſing; as that earl had been always, next to William of Ipres, in the higheſt degree of confidence and favor with Stephen, who particularly employed him in his Norman affairs. From what cauſe of diſguſt, or what temptation of intereſt, he now abandoned the king, and joined

Chron. Norm. ſub ann. 1143.

joined with the earl of Anjou, we are not informed. He, and his half-brother, the earl of Warren and Surrey, had been among the moſt forward in bringing aid to the queen, after her huſband's captivity; and the latter was ſtill firm in endeavouring to ſupport the cauſe of that prince, both in England and Normandy: for the caſtle of Rouen was defended by his ſoldiers againſt the earl of Anjou, till they were compelled by famine to give it up; and, even when that was ſurrendered, another fortreſs in Normandy was held for the king, by mercenary troops in the pay of that lord. But it was ſoon forced to capitulate; the earl of Anjou attacking it, not only with his own forces, but with thoſe of his brother-in-law, the earl of Flanders, and of his ſovereign, the king of France, who both came perſonally to aid him in this ſiege.

See Ord. Vit. l. xiii. p. 923.

Chron. Norm. ſub ann. 1143, 1144.

It muſt appear very marvellous, that Louis, whoſe ſiſter was wife to Stephen's ſon, and who had inveſted that prince with the dutchy of Normandy, in conſideration both of his marriage and of a great ſum of money given by Stephen, ſhould aſſiſt the earl of Anjou to take it from him! In order to account for this unnatural and ſcandalous conduct, it will be neceſſary to relate ſome tranſactions, which happened in France, from the time when he eſpouſed his ſiſter to Euſtace, till he engaged in this war againſt him.

At

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At the end of the year eleven hundred and forty, Innocent the Second, then pope, upon an appeal from the chapter of Bourges about the election of their archbiſhop, nominated and conſecrated Pierre de la Châtre, a creature of his own, without the conſent of the king, and againſt a choice to which he had given the royal approbation. Louis, incenſed at ſo daring an invaſion of the rights of his crown, publickly ſwore, that, as long as he lived, he never would admit the prelate ſo nominated into that ſee; but he permitted the chapter to elect any other. This was no little conceſſion; yet it was far from ſatisfying the pope, who ordered Pierre de la Châtre to go immediately to his ſee, in ſpite of the king, and promiſed to ſupport him by the papal authority; ſaying, "that Louis was a young prince who "needed inſtruction, and muſt be taught "by wholeſome corrections not to take the "liberty of thus interfering in eccleſiaſtical "matters: for elections would not be free, "if a prince might be ſuffered to give an "excluſion to any of the candidates, unleſs "he could prove the unfitneſs of the perſon "he excluded before the eccleſiaſtical judge; "in which caſe he might be heard as well "as another." *Such* (ſays father Daniel) *was the manner, in which the popes of thoſe times behaved themſelves towards princes, very different from that of their ancient predeceſſors, as well as of moſt of their ſucceſſors.* It is evident

Cron. Nangii. Herimannus in Spicilegio. S. Bernardi epiſt.

Nangius in chronico ad ann. 1141.

Pere Daniel hiſtoire de France Louis vii. ſub ann. 1141.

evident from theſe words, that he, though a Jeſuit, was too good a Frenchman. and too intelligent an hiſtorian, not to ſee that neither the language nor the conduct of Innocent in this affair could be decently juſtified. But one of the *ſaints* of his church, the famous Bernard, then abbot of Clairvaux, was of a different mind, and acted the part of a moſt furious incendiary upon this occaſion, calling on the pope *to deliver the church from the oppreſſion it ſuffered, to repreſs with an apoſtolical vigour the authors of the evil, together with their chief, whoſe will had been his law; and to make his iniquity fall upon his own head.* So very prone to rebellion was the zeal of thoſe times!

V. S. Bernardi epiſt. 216. ad Innocentium Papam.

Innocent, encouraged by theſe inſtigations, threatened the king with excommunication, and proceeded ſo far to carry his menaces into execution, that he put the royal demeſne under an interdict; and ſome vaſſals of the crown took up arms, in concert with him, againſt their ſovereign; particularly the earl of Blois, who, at the deſire of his Holineſs, gave the archbiſhop, Pierre de la Châtre, a retreat in his territories. The miſchiefs brought on the whole kingdom by this civil war were ſo great and grievous, that Bernard himſelf thought it neceſſary to turn mediator, and entreated the pope *to ſhew the king ſome indulgence, out of regard to his youth, his paſſion, the royal majeſty, and the public oath he had taken; yet*

V. Othon. Friſigenſ. Chron. l. vii. c. 21. S. Bernard. epiſt. 219.

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on ſuch terms, as might for the future reſtrain him effectually from ſuch a preſumption; ſaving the eccleſiaſtical liberty, and the rights of the archbiſhop, whom his Holineſs had conſecrated. By throwing in theſe reſtrictions he made his interceſſion a mere matter of form, decent with regard to himſelf, but uſeleſs to the king, who was far from being diſpoſed to ſubmit to conditions ſo diſadvantageous to him. Innocent was determined to grant him no better; though to his friendſhip and protection he had been, in a great meaſure, obliged for the popedom. The ſee of Rome had gained immenſely from the gratitude of princes for ſervices done them in their temporal intereſts, but never had loſt any thing by its own gratitude for any obligations or favors received. Innocent therefore acted upon the ſame principles as all his predeceſſors, in forgetting how much he owed to the king of France, when a queſtion aroſe on a point wherein the power of the church was concerned. But, while this diſpute was ſupported on both ſides with great animoſity, Louis was exaſperated againſt the earl of Blois from another cauſe. The earl of Vermandois, who was nearly related in blood to the king and high in his favor, had fallen violently in love with Petronilla, the queen's younger ſiſter, and one of the moſt beautiful women in France. To gratify his paſſion, he determined to procure a divorce from his wife, who was a niece of the earl

Chron. Nangii.
Heriman. in Spicilegeio.
Bernard. epiſt. 217.
Hiſtoire de Suger, l. vi.
Pere Daniel.

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of Blois, and by whom he had children, upon the uſual pretence of too near a relation. This being concerted between him and his miſtreſs, he found means to engage an aſſembly of French biſhops to declare his marriage null; and wedded her, the next morning, with the conſent of the king and queen. But whether it happened that the affinity was not well proved, or that the pope had not been applied to before-hand for his approbation, or that the intereſt of the earl of Blois, in behalf of his niece, was more powerful at Rome than that of her huſband, the conſent of that ſee to this ſcandalous proceeding could not be obtained. Nor was it generally approved in France. The abbot of Clairvaux inveighed againſt it with extraordinary fervour; and his judgment was of great moment: for he had the art of reconciling two characters which ſeem incompatible, that of a man extremely buſy in the affairs of the world, and that of a rigid recluſe. By the auſterity of his manners, and by an intrepid freedom of ſpeech, joined to more eloquence, learning, and dexterity, than any other clergyman of that age was endowed with, he had gained ſuch an authority, that not only the people, but many of the princes, and even the popes, contemporary with him, deferred to his counſels. As he lived in great intimacy with the earl of Blois, his regard to that friendſhip might naturally encreaſe the

Epiſtol. Bernard. 217.

Cron. Nan. Hermani in Spicil. Bernardi epiſt. 220, 221, 222. 224, 226.

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warmth of his zeal againſt this tranſaction, by which the family of the earl was diſhonored. But whatever his motives might be, the part he took was very becoming to a man of his character; and his credit at Rome was well employed, in exhorting the pope to correct the earl of Vermandois, and the lady he called his wife, with the utmoſt ſeverity of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. Nor were thoſe exhortations ineffectual. They were both publickly excommunicated by the pope's legate; and the biſhops who had annulled the former marriage were ſuſpended. But the king of France, who conſidered this ſentence as diſgraceful to his own honor, attacked the earl of Blois, whom he thought the author of it, and ſoon reduced him to ſue for peace; which he obtained, by the mediation of Bernard and the biſhop of Soiſſons, upon condition, that he ſhould prevail with his Holineſs to abſolve the earl of Vermandois. Accordingly, the legate was perſuaded to take off the cenſures, in deference to his interceſſion: but that lord refuſing obſtinately to part with his new wife, they were laid on again, by the pope himſelf: which Louis reſented, and complained bitterly againſt the earl of Blois, for having thus deceived him and broken his faith. Indeed it evidently appears from a letter of Bernard, that, when the earl promiſed to obtain the abſolution, he did it with an intention of duping the king; it being

V. epiſt. Bernardi, 217.

being ſecretly underſtood between him and the legate, that after he had obtained a ceſſation of arms, which at this time he much wanted, the cenſures ſhould be renewed. Louis alſo ſuſpected him of other intrigues carried on to his prejudice. He was, in truth, a very turbulent ſubject, though he had the character of a moſt religious and pious man. By his liberal alms and benefactions to the church he had ſo gained the monks, that they were called *his army*; and a formidable *army* they were, with whom the braveſt princes were afraid to contend. But Louis ſtood then ſo little in awe of them, that he made war on their *general* more fiercely than before, deſtroyed a part of his country with fire and ſword, and found no reſiſtance, till he came to Vitray, a town in the Perthois, which, being defended by a ſtrong garriſon, refuſed to ſurrender. Incenſed at this oppoſition he put himſelf at the head of his troops, aſſaulted the town, took it by ſtorm, maſſacred the inhabitants, even the women and children, and commanded his ſoldiers to ſet fire to the houſes. Thirteen hundred perſons, of both ſexes, of every age and condition, took refuge in the great church, which, they ſuppoſed, would be reſpected, as a ſacred aſylum: but no mercy was ſhewn to them: the church was burnt; and all within it were miſerably conſumed in the flames.

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Pere Daniel.

Robertus de Monte, append. ad Sigebert. ad ann. 1143. Hiſt. de Suger, l. vi. Pere Daniel.

The beſt friends of the king were ſhocked at this horrid barbarity; and, when he came to reflect coolly upon it himſelf, he was ſtruck with ſuch deep and ſuch ſevere remorſe, that he was ready to fall into deſpair. For his mind was naturally humane; but he could not controul the impetuoſity of his paſſions, and had, on this occaſion, been ſo tranſported and blinded by his fury, as, like one poſſeſſed by an evil ſpirit, to act in a manner moſt contrary to his uſual diſpoſition. Upon the return of his reaſon, he ſaw all the enormity of what he had done, and inſtantly gave himſelf up to a paſſion of ſorrow, almoſt as violent as that of his rage had been before; which Bernard very ſkilfully taking advantage of, and ſubjecting to himſelf an underſtanding diſmayed and enfeebled by guilt, brought him not only to make peace with the earl of Blois, but to ſubmit to the pope, and receive Pierre de la Châtreas archbiſhop of Bourges. Nor did the change that was wrought in him, by the leſſons he then learned, only affect his preſent conduct. From this time, even to the lateſt hour of his life, he became a bigotted ſlave to Rome, and, inſtead of continuing to ſupport the rights of his crown with a proper ſpirit and firmneſs, weakly contributed to aſſiſt the eſtabliſhment of the papal dominion, both in his own realm and in England; as king Henry the Second experienced long afterwards, in his quarrel with Becket. So bad a uſe

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a uſe was ſometimes made by the *ſaints* in thoſe days of the contrition of penitents, and ſo dangerous was it for a king to be under their conduct or influence!

During theſe troubles in France, and while the anger of Louis was inflamed againſt the earl of Blois, he found it neceſſary to court the earl of Anjou, who prudently availed himſelf of this ſtate of affairs, to complete and ſecure his poſſeſſion of Normandy. Thus all the intereſts of the princeſs Conſtantia were ſacrificed by the king, her brother, to his preſent advantage, and to his apprehenſions of ſtrengthening the houſe of Blois, which he found ſo diſobedient and ſo troubleſome to him. Yet the aſcendant gained by Bernard over the mind of this monarch, in conſequence of the offence he had committed at Vitray, might very probably have produced an alteration in favor of Euſtace, if ſoon after this time both Louis and the abbot had not been wholly taken up with another affair, which employed their thoughts for ſome years; I mean a cruſade for the defence of the Holy land againſt the arms of Noureddin, ſultan of Aleppo. Chron. Norm. ſub ann. 1143. 1144.

As in the conſequences of this enterprize Henry Plantagenet was deeply concerned, and owed to ſome incidents, which happened in the courſe of it, his marriage with Eleanor; a marriage, which gave to him, and to the kings of England, his poſterity,

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the great dutchy of Aquitaine, and produced much of the happineſs and unhappineſs of his life; it will be proper to relate, in a ſummary manner, the riſe and progreſs thereof; and the rather, becauſe the ſpirit or diſtinguiſhing character of the times cannot be perfectly underſtood, without a peculiar attention to this famous tranſaction, in which almoſt all the princes and nations of Europe engaged with ſo much ardor, that they ſeemed to think no other intereſt deſerved their regard. While I am treating of this ſubject, I ſhall alſo give ſome account of a former cruſade, which I omitted in writing the general hiſtory of the period wherein it happened, becauſe I thought a narration of it would come in more agreeably and connectedly here, than where it muſt have been blended with ſeveral other matters of a different nature. For nothing can be ſhewn with due perſpicuity in broken and ſcattered lights.

See the firſt volume.

It has already been related, how Fulk earl of Anjou, the father of Geoffry, was called over to Paleſtine by Baldwin the Second, king of Jeruſalem, in order to marry Meliſenta his daughter, and ſucceed to him in his kingdom. The nuptials were celebrated in the year eleven hundred and twenty ſeven, and Baldwin died in eleven hundred and thirty one, after many viciſſitudes of good and bad fortune, in both which he had

Gul. Tyr. l. xiii, xiv. xv.

ſhewn himſelf a man of great courage, but one in whoſe temper that quality was mixed with ſome raſhneſs. The king, his ſon-in-law, maintained the high reputation of valour and prudence, which had raiſed him to the throne, and ruled a weak ſtate with great renown, till the year eleven hundred and forty two, when he was unhappily killed by a fall from his horſe, as he was courſing a hare upon the plains of Ptolemais. He left his realm to Baldwin, the eldeſt of two ſons that Meliſenta had brought him, and who, being a minor, was put under the tuition of his mother. She was alſo appointed regent of the kingdom; which would have belonged to her, as ſovereign, in her own right, and could not, till her death, have deſcended to her ſon, if the rule of ſucceſſion in this and other governments, during the eleventh and twelth centuries, had not been generally unfavorable to women. But ſhe had only the adminiſtration of it, in truſt for her ſon, during the time of his nonage, It is difficult to account for the policy of making her regent: ſuch a delegation of the royal authority being no way agreeable to the notions and and principles, upon which ſhe was excluded from inheriting the crown at the death of her father. But the ſame inconſiſtency is obſervable in the kingdom of France. Meliſenta was a lady of a maſculine ſpirit; and had abilities above the weakneſs of her ſex; which were indeed very neceſſary for her, when

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when the ſafety of a country perpetually attacked by more powerful neighbours was entruſted to her care. Of theſe the moſt formidable was Omadeddin Zenghi, Sultan of Moſul and Aleppo.

The empire of the Saracen Caliphs of Bagdat, which, under Haroun Alreſchid, a prince contemporary with Charlemagne, had been as great in the Eaſt as that emperor's in the Weſt, was now reduced to a mere religious ſupremacy, preſerved to them by cuſtom, and by a continuance of that veneration, founded upon their deſcent from the family of their prophet, and upon the chief prieſthood annexed to their dignity, which had made the former Caliphs of all kings the moſt abſolute, while they knew how to reign. But the deſcendants of thoſe princes having ſunk into a ſlothful and effeminate life in a voluptuous ſeraglio, the governor's of their provinces, by degrees, rendered themſelves independent, and paid no further regard to them than in receiving from their hands a form of inveſtiture; while the moſt powerful of theſe officers, under the title of Emir al Omara, or generaliſſimo, uſurped all their authority in civil affairs. The family of Buiah having thus governed the caliphate for more than a century, Cadher, the twenty fifth caliph of the houſe of Abbas, became impatient of their yoke; and being unable, by any ſtrength of his own, to ſhake it off, put himſelf under

See Herbelot Diction. Orientale, under the articles Cadher and Mahmoud le Gaſnevide.

der the protection of Mahmoud, ſultan of Gaſnah, a prince of a Turkiſh extraction, and one of the greateſt conquerors the world ever ſaw; for he ſubdued all the Indies, beſides Perſia, Georgia, and whatever dominions belonged to the caliphate, which he ruled under the name of protector or guardian. His virtues rendered him worthy of a ſtill greater empire than that he poſſeſſed, and he had the happineſs to leave it entire and peaceable, after a long life of conſtant proſperity, to his ſon, named Maſſoud. But, during the reign of that prince, a new revolution happened in the Eaſt.

See Herbelot under the articles Maſſoud and Selgiuck.

A colony of Turks, under the conduct of Selgiuck, the chief of one of their principal tribes, had come from Capchack, which is a part of Great Tartary lying north-eaſt of the Caſpian ſea, and ſettled in multitudes upon the confines of Bockara, where they embraced the Mahometan religion. Soon afterwards they made themſelves maſters of Bockara, and puſhed their conqueſts much further under Thogrul-beg, the grandſon of Selgiuck, who to the Scythian ſtrength and courage joined all the talents and virtues of a great king. Having been ſlighted by Maſſoud, to whom he and his brother had offered their ſervice, he paſſed the Oxus, defeated that ſultan, and, after ſubduing all Perſia, was inveſted at Bagdat, by the Caliph, Caim Beemrillah, with the ſame dignities and

See Herbelot under the articles Thobrul-beg and Caim Beemrillah.

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and power in the empire, as had formerly been enjoyed by the houſe of Buiah. From this epoch the dynaſty of the Selgiucides, famous in Aſia, is reckoned to begin, and continued very flouriſhing for three generations.

See Herbelot under the articles Alp-Arſlan, Gelaleddin, and Soliman.

Thogrul-beg was ſucceeded by his valiant nephew Alp-Arſlan, who, with an army of no more than twelve thouſand men, beat the Greek emperor, Romanus Diogenes, at the head of three hundred thouſand, and took him captive. This ſultan left the government to his ſon Gelaleddin, whoſe dominions extended from Urquend, a city of Turqueſtan beyond the river Oxus, to Antioch in Syria, which he won from the Greek empire, by the good conduct of Soliman, a prince of his blood, on whom he beſtowed it with part of the Leſſer Aſia; and it was from a lieutenant or emir of Soliman that it was taken by Boemond, one of the braveſt and wiſeſt chiefs of the firſt cruſade. The good ſucceſs of that enterprize was greatly facilitated by the death of Gelaleddin, which happened in the year of our Lord one thouſand and ninety two. For, on that event, diſputes ariſing about the ſucceſſion, the power of the Selgiucides was thereby much weakened, and the arms of the Cruſaders met with a feebler reſiſtance, than they would have done, if it had ſtill ſubſiſted in that fulneſs of ſtrength, which it had acquired

quired during the life of this ſultan. Nor was it ever recovered by his ſucceſſors. For the governors of their provinces became independent, and paid as little obedience to them as they did to the caliphs. Thus Omadeddin Zenghi, under the grandſon of Gelaleddin, made himſelf ſovereign of Moſul, the capital of Aſſyria, to which he ſoon added Aleppo and Hama in Syria: conqueſts that rendered him formidable to all his neighbours, but eſpecially to the Chriſtians. The city of Edeſſa, with a great part of Meſopotamia, had been taken from a lieutenant of the ſultan of Bagdat by Baldwin, the younger brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, who, having been elected king of Jeruſalem, at Godfrey's deceaſe, gave up this inferior ſtate to Baldwin de Burg, his couſin german. This prince alſo, having ſucceeded to the throne of that kingdom, reſigned Edeſſa, with all it's territory, which had the title of an earldom, to his relation, Joſcelin de Courtenay, a man of courage and prudence, who maintained it for ſome years, againſt many ſharp attacks of the bordering Turks, and left it, at his death, to his ſon. But, being young and profligate, gave himſelf up to his pleaſures; of which Omadeddin Zenghi, the ſultan of Moſul, taking advantage, came on a ſudden, and, while the earl was indulging his riot at Turbeſſel, a town on the Euphrates, laid ſiege to Edeſſa, which wanted many neceſſaries for it's defence, and was garriſoned only

See Herbelot under the articles Atabeck and Zenghi.

See Herbelot under the articles Edeſſa, and Gul. Tyr. de bello ſacro, l. xvi. from p. 890 to 894. under the year 1142.

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only by mercenaries, who were ill paid. In vain did the earl, whom the danger of his capital rouſed from that lethargy into which his debauches had thrown him, put himſelf at the head of what forces he could raiſe and ſollicit Raymond prince of Antioch and the queen regent of Jeruſalem to aſſiſt him in this exigence. The former under whom he held part of his territories, had been, for ſome time, upon ſuch ill terms with him, that he forgot they had a common intereſt to hinder a city of ſo much importance from being conquered by the Turks, and delayed to give him aſſiſtance, till it was too late. Meliſenta indeed ordered ſome of her beſt troops to march to his ſuccour: but before they could arrive the ſultan had taken the place by ſtorm. From thence he went to beſiege Colengebar, a fortreſs upon the Euphrates, and undoubtedly would have puſhed his conqueſts much further, if he had not been murdered in his tent by a conſpiracy of his own ſlaves. After his death, his dominions were divided among his ſons; Aleppo and Edeſſa, with all the other conqueſts made by him in Syria, falling to the ſhare of Noureddin, his ſecond ſon, according to William arcbiſhop of Tyre, a contemporary writer, but the eldeſt of three, according to Herbelot and ſome of the beſt Arabian hiſtorians. While this prince was in Aſſyria, diſputing there with one of his brothers about their inheritance, the earl of Edeſſa, who had

Gul. Tyr. l. xvi. p. 893. Herbelot under the articles Atabeck and Noureddin.

Gul. Tyr. c. 14, 15, 16. l. xvi.

had an intelligence with the Chriſtians left in that city, being informed that the walls were negligently guarded, ſcaled them by night, at the head of ſome choſen troops, and with the help of the citizens got into the town: but not being able, for want of proper engines, to take ſome caſtles, which were a kind of citadel to it, he ſoon found cauſe to repent of his enterprize. For when Noureddin was informed of what he had done, immediately quitting Aſſyria he collected his forces, marched to Edeſſa, and inveſted the town. The earl and his troops found themſelves now in a terrible ſituation, harraſſed, within the walls, by the garriſons of the forts, and aſſaulted, without, by the army of Noureddin, hopeleſs of relief, and deſtitute of proviſions to ſuſtain a long ſiege. Hereupon they all reſolved, as it became men of courage, to make a general ſally, and endeavour, ſword in hand, to cut their way through the enemy; which, in ſuch an extremity, was the moſt honorable, and perhaps the ſafeſt part they could take. But when their intention was known to the citizens, the dread of being left expoſed to the rage and vengeance of the Turks determined them alſo to go out with the troops, and carry with them their wives and children. Accordingly, one of the gates of the town being opened, they all ſallied forth; but were beaten back again by the troops of Noureddin, and attacked at the ſame time by the garriſons of the

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the forts; who, opening ſome other gates to their countrymen, incloſed the miſerable Chriſtians between two armies, which made it equally difficult for them either to advance or retire. Yet, after a long and bloody fight, the earl and his ſoldiers broke through all that oppoſed them in the front, and gained the open fields: but of the citizens hardly any eſcaped. Nor did Noureddin permit the earl to go off unpurſued, but followed him cloſe, and, as he retired towards the Euphrates, which was diſtant from Edeſſa about fourteen miles, harraſſed his forces all the way with inceſſant attacks; till their braveſt men having been killed and the others beginning to break their ranks, their chief himſelf fled, and got ſafe to the other ſide of the river; but his life was all he preſerved: for his army was deſtroyed, and he left his whole country in the power of the Turks.

The fame of this action quickly ſpread all over the Eaſt, and made the name of Noureddin as dreadful, as that of his father had been, to all the Latin Chriſtians of Syria and Paleſtine. They thought they already ſaw him at the gates of Jeruſalem, and, conſidering the circumſtances of that kingdom, deſpaired of being able to defend it againſt ſuch an enemy, on their frontier, by their own ſtrength alone. It therefore was neceſſary to aſk the aſſiſtance of the princes of Europe, and endeavour to excite them to another

another cruſade. But there was reaſon to doubt of the poſſibility of ſucceeding in ſuch an application. For the chief expedition, made, ſince the death of Godfrey of Bouillon, into thoſe countries from Europe, had proved ſo unfortunate, that the former ardor for theſe enterprizes might well have been extinguiſhed.

V. Fulcher. Garnot. ſub ann. 1120. Geſt. Francor. Expug. Hieruſ. ſub ann. 1101, 1102.

In the year of our Lord eleven hundred and one, William the Eighth, duke of Aquitaine, Hugh the Great, earl of Vermandois, Stephen earl of Blois, who was father to Stephen afterwards king of England, the duke of Burgundy, the earl of Bourges, with other nobles of high rank in the kingdom of France, had taken the croſs, at the head of fifty or ſixty thouſand horſe, and a hundred thouſand foot, according to the loweſt account of their numbers. We are told that the greateſt part of this mighty force was drawn from the territories of the duke of Aquitaine: a very remakable proof of the power of that dutchy, which Henry Plantagenet afterwards obtained by his marriage with the grand-daughter of this prince. But the zeal for this warfare againſt the Mahometans in the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem was not confined to the French. At the ſame time, the biſhops of Milan and Pavia, with many of the princes and nobles of Lombardy, led from thence another army of fifty thouſand men, as an author, who was with them himſelf, relates. Theſe were

Gul. Tyr. hiſt. l. x. ſub ann. 1101, 1102. Ann. Comnene hiſt. l. xi. c. 7. Malmſb. l. iv. ſub ann. 1101, 1102. f. 84. Oid. Vital. l. x. V. auctores citat. ut ſuprà.

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joined during their march by the duke of Bavaria, the archbiſhop of Saltzburg, and other potentates of the empire, whoſe forces, added to thoſe of the French and Lombards, made up about two hundred and fifty or ſixty thouſand men, of which at leaſt a hundred thouſand were heavy-armed cavalry; beſides a great train of prieſts and monks, and of women and children, with which theſe armies moſt imprudently encumbered themſelves, encreaſing thereby the worſt difficulty they had to contend with, that of finding ſubſiſtence. The earl of Vermandois and of Blois had engaged in the firſt cruſade, and were forced into this by the diſgrace they were branded with in the whole Chriſtian world, for having left their confederates before they had taken Jeruſalem; which was eſteemed ſuch a blemiſh to their honor, that (if we may believe a contemporary hiſtorian) Adela, counteſs of Blois, and one of the daughters of William the Conqueror, had ſo much of her father's ſpirit in her, as to perſuade her huſband, with frequent and vehement exhortations, to return to the holy war, in order to recover his loſt reputation. He took her advice, though, it is ſaid, with great reluctance, and as if he had foreſeen the fatal event. But the duke of Aquitaine had no ſuch inſtigations, to drive him into this romantic undertaking; and of all the princes then alive he ſeemed the leaſt likely to engage in it from motives of piety or devotion.

V. Abbat. Uſpergenſ. in. chron. p. 237. V. Annales Boicæ gentis, part. i. c. 18.

V. Ord. Vit. ut ſuprà.

votion. William of Malmſbury affirms, that he gave himſelf up to every kind of vice, as if he believed that chance, not Providence, governed the world: to prove which, he relates ſome very extraordinary facts: as for inſtance, that in a caſtle built by the duke one part was laid out in the form of a nunnery, which he declared he would fill, not with nuns, but harlots, and named the moſt celebrated proſtitute of the time to be the abbeſs, and others of leſſer note to fill the other offices of this new kind of convent. He alſo put away his wife, and took another man's (ſome authors ſay his own brother's) to live publickly with him, wearing her picture on his ſhield; and, though he had been excommunicated on account of the ſcandal this gave, he continued his connexion with her for ſeveral years after his return out of Paleſtine, and was again excommunicated, without being reclaimed. When the biſhop of Poictiers was beginning to pronounce the ſentence againſt him, he drew a dagger, and, ſeizing that prelate by the hair of his head, threatened to kill him, if he did not immediately abſolve him. The biſhop deſired a ſhort time, to ſay ſomething to him, which being granted, he finiſhed the excommunication with ſtill more ſeverity, and then offering his throat to the furious duke, bade him ſtrike. But that prince, either affected by the firmneſs of his courage, or having only meant to fright him, ſaid, with a ſmile

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V. Malmſb. f. 96. l. 5.

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of contempt, *that he never ſhould be ſent to heaven by his hand.* Yet, at the inſtigation of his miſtreſs, he baniſhed him out of his territories; during which exile the good prelate departed this life, and was ſuppoſed to work miracles after his deceaſe. A report of theſe being brought to the duke, he ſaid in publick, *I repent of not having put him to death long before, that his holy ſoul might have owed to me the great obligation of having ſooner procured for it celeſtial beatitude.* Such was the character of this man, whoſe impiety ſeems to have equalled the profligacy of his manners: notwithſtanding which, the general mode of the times, an ardor for glory, or perhaps that ſtrange mixture of ſuperſtition and irreligion, which ſometimes is found in the ſame mind, carried him to the holy land, with the abovementioned princes. But, though he and his confederates put themſelves under the conduct of a great general, Raymond earl of Toulouſe, one of the heroes of the firſt cruſade, whom they happened to find detained at Conſtantinople, yet of theſe formidable armies hardly a thouſand men came ſafe to Jeruſalem, as Conrade abbot of Urſpurg, who was with them, affirms.

V. Chron. Uſperg. p. 239.

That the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, helped to occaſion their deſtruction, by a ſecret intelligence, he carried on with the Turks, is aſſerted by many of the Latin hiſtorians who treat of this ſubject. Nor, indeed,

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſupra.

indeed, can one much wonder at it, if he ſo acted: for he had reaſon to be uneaſy at ſuch mighty armies of foreigners ſo frequently paſſing through his dominions, which ſome of them pillaged like an enemy's country, and where almoſt all behaved themſelves with great inſolence; as even their own writers are compelled to acknowledge. But I do not find ſufficient evidence to eſtabliſh the credit of this report. Certain it is, that he warned them to take another road, and that their neglect of this counſel was the cauſe of all their misfortunes. For they preſently came into a deſert and mountainous country, where they could procure neither food nor forage, and were continually harraſſed, during a difficult march of above thirty days, by a great army of Turks, collected out of all the neighbouring ſtates, and commanded by Soliman, the warlike ſultan of Nice and Iconium, who compleatly revenged himſelf at this time for the loſſes, which he had ſuffered from their countrymen in the firſt cruſade. After repeated attacks, by which he had conſiderably diminiſhed their numbers, when many of their horſes had been killed, or were ready to die with fatigue and famine, and when the ſpirit of the men themſelves was worn out, he ſuddenly brought down all his forces upon them, from the tops of ſome hills, the defiles of which they had entered; and made ſo terrible a ſlaughter of them,

V. Ann. Comnene hiſt. l. xi. c. 7. Fulcher Carnoten. et. Geſt. Francor. Expugn. Hieruſal. ſub ann. 1100, 1102. Ord. Vital. l. x. et Malmſb. l. iv. f. 84. ſub ann. 1101, 1102. Gul. Tyr. hiſt. l. x. ſub iiſdem annis.

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that they durſt not ſtand the danger of another aſſault, but fled, by night, in ſmall parties, leaving their baggage, and all their women and children, with many ſick and wounded men, in the power of the Turks, who, much incenſed at theſe perpetual wars made upon them, by princes and people whom they never had offended, maſſacred ſome, and carried the others captive, even to the furtheſt parts of the eaſt, where they remained without redemption. Among the women thus enſlaved was a princeſs of Auſtria, with many other noble ladies. Great numbers of the men, who had fled out of the camp, were overtaken in their flight and cut to pieces, or periſhed by hunger in the mountains and deſerts; yet, as they went different ways, ſome of them eſcaped. Particularly moſt of the princes and earls got ſafe to Tarſus, the capital of Cilicia; where they loſt the earl of Vermandois, who died of the fatigue and hardſhips he had ſuffered. After they had paid the laſt duties to him, and given themſelves a little reſt, they proceeded to Antioch. The duke of Aquitaine arrived there on foot, with hardly a ſingle knight, or menial attendant, having loſt his whole army, horſes, money, and all the neceſſaries of life; which he was ſupplied with, in Antioch, by the bounty of Tancred, a Norman prince, who governed that city; as were alſo the other chiefs, and ſome troops of their followers, who had either accom-

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accompanied them in their retreat, or joined them on the road, after their firſt ſeperation. Finding themſelves ſtrong enough, when they were united together, to make ſome attempt againſt the enemy, they laid ſiege to Tortoſa, a town in Phœnicia; which being but weakly fortified, they took it by ſtorm, and put themſelves, by the pillage of it, in a better condition. This city with its territory, which they left in the poſſeſſion of the earl of Toulouſe, was the only advantage purchaſed by ſo much Chriſtian blood, inſtead of the conqueſt of a great part of Aſia, which they had propoſed to themſelves, when they undertook this adventure. The duke of Aquitaine, embarked at Joppa, and returned to his own exhauſted dominions, without any further misfortune, but dejected with ſorrow and ſhame; from the ſenſe of which he more miſerably delivered himſelf, by plunging deeper than ever into the filth of vice and debauchery. The duke of Burgundy and the earl of Blois had likewiſe embarked at the ſame port; but being driven back by contrary winds, they remained in the Holy land; and were ſoon afterwards killed in the bloody battle of Rama, which the king of Jeruſalem, too raſhly courageous, loſt by his ignorance of the number of the enemy he came to attack. The earl of Bourges, brother to Raymond earl of Toulouſe, was taken priſoner in the ſame action. Nor had the duke of Bavaria a much happier

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſuprà.

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deſtiny, though he eſcaped from that defeat: for returning home, after the loſs of the greateſt part of his army, he fell ſick, and died, in the iſland of Paphos. Such was the event of this cruſade; which might have deterred enthuſiaſm itſelf from ever forming another.

Nevertheleſs the ſame epidemical madneſs, after having been checked during more than forty years, now broke out again, with greater fury than ever, in all parts of Europe; even in thoſe which had ſuffered moſt from the laſt expedition. One of the firſt who was ſeized with it was Louis le Jeune. The mind of that king had been ſtrongly diſpoſed to receive it, by the compunction and horrors with which he was agitated, after the cruelties committed at Vitry. He thought a cruſade would better expiate his guilt in that action than any other penance, according to the notions which almoſt univerſally prevailed in thoſe days. Therefore, when he heard that Edeſſa was taken, and that the Chriſtians in Paleſtine deſired the ſuccour of their brethren in Europe, he, with great ardor, embraced the opportunity of gaining the remiſſion of his paſt ſins, by the merit of fighting for Chriſt's holy ſepulchre. Other inducements had alſo ſome weight with him. His elder brother Philip had made a vow to go to the holy land: but, death having prevented him from performing

V. Otho Friſingen. l. i. c. 34, 35.

ing it, Louis imagined himſelf in ſome meaſure bound to accompliſh it for him, becauſe he had inherited the crown in his ſtead. He further ſuppoſed, that thoſe, who implored his aſſiſtance, had a right to demand his protection; the prince of Antioch, and the earls of Edeſſa and Tripoli, being all Frenchmen, and the king of Jeruſalem the ſon of one of his vaſſals. There was ſomething more ſpecious in this opinion, yet ſurely the duty, which he owed, in the firſt place, to his ſubjects in France, was a much ſtronger bond to detain him there. He propoſed the affair to his council, who, finding he ſtated it rather as a caſe of conſcience than a political deliberation, referred him to Bernard abbot of Clairvaux, whom they thought the beſt guide in any points of that nature. The abbot, though burning with zeal for the enterprize, had ſo much diſcretion, that he would not venture to decide ſo important a queſtion by his own judgement, but exhorted the king to be adviſed by the pope.

Idem ibidem. Epiſt. i. Eugenii pap. tom. x. concil. p. 1046.

Eugenius the Third, who had been a diſciple of Bernard, was then in the ſee of Rome, and too well underſtood the intereſts of it, not to encourage ſuch an undertaking. He ſent into France a bull, by which he excited the king and the whole nation to this pious warfare, and granted to all, who ſhould engage therein, as full a pardon of all their paſt

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paſt offences, as his predeceſſor, Urban the Second, had given to thoſe, who had inliſted themſelves in the firſt cruſade. He likewiſe took all their families, poſſeſſions, and goods, under his ſpecial protection; even forbidding any legal proceedings againſt them, till their return; or againſt their heirs, till their death ſhould be certainly known. As a further encouragement, he freed every debtor, who ſhould take part in this cruſade, from all arrears of intereſt due to his creditors; and abſolved him, or his ſureties, *by the apoſtolick authority*, from any promiſe or *oath* that he had given for the payment thereof. He alſo granted to all vaſſals the liberty of mortgaging their lands to the church, or to any other perſons, againſt the great rule of the feudal law; in order to raiſe the money which they wanted for this expedition, if their lords either could not or would not lend it to them, after due notice given. Such were the baits thrown out by Rome, to draw men into this ruinous folly; and ſuch were the powers which it furniſhed that ſee with a pretence to aſſume!

Vit. Sugerii per Guilelm. Hiſtoire de Suger, l. vi. p. 113.

Sug. epiſt. 144.

Hitherto no crowned head had ever engaged in a cruſade; but to enroll even kings and emperors in thoſe armies, of which the pope was the chief, and by that means to make *him* the *protector* and *diſpoſer* of them and their kingdoms, was, undoubtedly, a a great object of papal ambition. In vain did Abbot Suger, who was as pious as St. Bernard,

Bernard, but leſs a bigot and more a ſtateſman, oppoſe this deſign to the utmoſt of his power. In vain did he remonſtrate, both to the king and the pope, how improper and how dangerous it would be for the former, who at this time had no child, except a daughter who was but four years old, to leave his kingdom expoſed to the hazard of an unſettled ſucceſſion: there being yet, in that monarchy, no rule clearly fixed by law or uſage, in virtue of which the crown would deſcend, without any controverſy, to the neareſt heir male. Intereſt cloſed the ears of the pope, and bigottry thoſe of the king, againſt all the repreſentations and counſels of his wiſe and honeſt miniſter, the moſt reſpectable monk of that age, or perhaps, of any other. Together with the bull abovementioned, Eugenius had ſent to Bernard a brief, appointing him his vicar, to preach the new cruſade. The parliament, or great council of the kingdom of France, (for ſuch were then the French parliaments) was convened, as uſual, at Eaſter, in the year of our Lord eleven hundred and forty ſix. The place, appointed for it to meet in, was Vezelai, a town in the dutchy of Burgundy; and there the king, who in another parliament, held the Chriſtmas before, had declared his deſire of ſpeedily taking the croſs, reſolved to put it in execution: which being made known to his ſubjects, the concourſe at Vezelai was ſo great, that

Gadfrid. vita. S. Bern. c. iv. Odo de Diog. in t. x. concil. p. 1102. Hiſt. Ludov. vii. reg. apud Duchesne, t. iv. p. 413. See alſo hiſtoire deSuger. l. vi. p. 110.

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that the aſſembly was forced to be held in a field. A pulpit was raiſed on the ſide of a little hill, which roſe at the end of a large plain, and from thence Bernard, after having read the letters of the pope, harangued with much eloquence, according to the purport of his commiſſion; and added to the vehemence of his exhortations aſſurances of good ſucceſs, which he threw out as a prophet under divine inſpiration. The better to authoriſe his predictions, he pretended to work miracles; which, together with the opinion conceived of his ſanctity, gave an almoſt irreſiſtible force to his words. He had ſcarce ended, when Louis roſe up from his throne, and throwing himſelf at his feet demanded the croſs, which Eugenius had ſent for him. Having received it with marks of great devotion, and placed it on his right ſhoulder, he mounted the pulpit, and harangued the aſſembly, or rather *preached* to them, with as much fervour as Bernard. The ſermon of the king had no leſs influence over the minds of the audience, than that of the monk: all of them unanimouſly, with loud acclamations, deſired to be inliſted into this ſacred militia. Bernard had brought into the field a great number of croſſes prepared for the purpoſe: but theſe not being ſufficient, he took off his garment, and cut it into ſmall pieces, of the ſame form, which he gave to all who aſked for them; among whom were the earls of Flanders,

Odo ut ſupra
Bernard. epiſt. 256.
Granfrid. vit. S. Bernard.
Fleuri hiſt. eccleſ. l. lxix.

Chron Mauriniac, apud Ducheſne, p. 388, 389.

Flanders, of Toulouſe, of Nevers, with moſt of the other great vaſſals and peers of France, and Robert earl of Dreux, the king's brother. The queen herſelf, the young, the gay, the lively Eleanor, either from a ſudden ſtart of devotion, or from complaiſance to her huſband, engaged to attend him in this dangerous expedition, without regarding the ſad fate of the princeſs of Auſtria, or what her own grandfather had ſuffered, in the former cruſade. Many ladies of her court were induced by her example to take part in a warfare ſo unſuitable to them; and ſome hiſtorians have affirmed, that they mounted on horſeback, armed and accoutred like Amazons, and formed themſelves into ſquadrons, which were honored with the name of *Queen Eleanor's guard*. They alſo ſent diſtaffs to all the young men of their neighbourhood, who had not yet enrolled themſelves among the cruſaders: by the ſhame of which they were driven to it: ſo that (as Bernard himſelf teſtifies in one of his letters) the towns and villages remained inhabited only by women and children.

See Mezerai vie de Louis vii. Hiſtoire de Suger.

Of all the princes in France, or in the whole chriſtian world, none was ſo naturally called upon to join in this enterprize, as Geoffry earl of Anjou. His father's ſon, not yet of age, was king of Jeruſalem; his mother in law was regent. That they ſtrongly ſollicited him to aſſiſt them in perſon, can ſcarce be doubted; and his reſiſting their

importunities, as well as the impetuoſity of that modiſh zeal, which bore down every reſtraint of prudence before it, is an extraordinary proof of the peculiar ſolidity and ſtrength of his judgement. The unſettled ſtate of Normandy was, I ſuppoſe, his excuſe; and, by inſiſting upon that, he not only avoided the evils, which he might apprehend would enſue from this cruſade, but ſecured the dutchy to himſelf: for, while the king was abroad, he fixed his government there on the firmeſt foundations.

The earl of Blois was aged and infirm; which probably might be the reaſon, or at leaſt the pretence, why he did not take the croſs: but, that he might not incur the ſpiritual cenſures of Rome, by doing any thing to diſturb the kingdom of France, while it was under the protection of that ſee, he adhered to the reſolution, he had declared ſome time before, that he would not engage in any conteſt with Matilda or her huſband, out of any regard, either to his brother, King Stephen, or his nephew, Prince Euſtace. Thus did all theſe events contribute to ſerve the houſe of Plantagenet; as will hereafter more evidently appear.

The frenzy, which Bernard had excited in France, roſe to ſo monſtrous a height, that, in a great council, held at Chartres, to ſettle all matters, relative to the cruſade, the whole aſſembly elected the abbot for their general, inſtead of the king: an extravagance

travagance which I ſhould hardly believe on the faith of any hiſtorians, if I did not find it atteſted in ſome of the letters, written at that time, to Pope Eugenius the Third, by Bernard himſelf. Peter the hermit had indeed commanded a rabble, that had taken up arms at the beginning of the firſt cruſade; but the deſtruction of all thoſe who marched under his conduct was enough to prevent even the wildeſt fanaticks among the common people, from ever deſiring to follow their example. How very wonderful is it then, that all the princes and nobles of the French kingdom, when a king renowned for his valour, and full of ardor for the cauſe, was actually at their head, ſhould defer the command to a monk, ſtill leſs qualified for it than the hermit abovementioned, who, before he retired from the world, had ſerved as a ſoldier; whereas this man in all his life had never borne arms. But the ſtrong perſuaſion he had infuſed into them, that God was with him, and that, like another Moſes, he would lead them, by miracles, into the land of promiſe, made them overlook his natural incapacity, and think him the moſt proper head of an enterprize, to which they believed he had called them by the inſpiration of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheleſs he was ſo far from the indiſcretion of accepting this dangerous offer, that he would not even take the croſs, nor go along with the army into Aſia; but contented himſelf

V. Bernard. epiſt. 256. ad Eugen. pap. et epiſt. Eugenii apud Villefore, p. 411.

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himſelf with executing the office enjoined him by the pope, which was not to engage in, but to preach the cruſade.

Otto Friſing. de rebus geſt. Fred. I. imperat. l. i. c. 37. 38, 39, 40. Bern. epiſt. 323.

After having ſo ably performed his buſineſs in France, he went to the diet held at Spire by the emperor Conrade the Third. The great fame of his ſanctity, and miracles ſuppoſed to be worked by him there, as well as in France, with the diſpoſition of the Germans to receive him as a meſſenger ſent to them from God, which character he had the boldneſs to take on himſelf, rendered his ſucceſs as general among them as among his own countrymen. Indeed the infection of this kind of fanaticiſm had ſeized them with ſo much violence, that a vagabond monk, who, without any commiſſion from the pope, or any pretence to ſupernatural powers, preached the cruſade in the cities on the Rhine, and incited the people to begin the Holy war by a maſſacre of the Jews, was greedily heard by them, and not without difficulty ſuppreſſed by Bernard, after having raiſed great ſeditions, and occaſioned the ſlaughter of many Jews in thoſe parts. Happily for all the reſt of that nation in Europe, the miſſionary of the pope, having more credit than he, confined him to his convent, and turned all the fury of the zeal he had kindled, againſt the Mahometans only. The emperor himſelf took the croſs, and with him moſt of his vaſſals, except the Saxons,

Saxons, who excuſed themſelves from any ſhare in this expedition; becauſe they had a Holy war to wage nearer home, againſt the pagan Sclavonians. Bernard afterwards purſued his miſſion, with the ſame fervour, the ſame arts, and the ſame prodigious ſucceſs, over all the Low Countries, and would, in all probability, have extended it to England; where he might have found as much faith, as in the French, the Germans, or the Flemings, and no leſs zeal, or courage; if the diſtracted ſtate of that kingdom, and a doubt to which ſovereign he ought to addreſs himſelf, Matilda, or Stephen, had not ſtopped him from applying either to the one or the other. Yet ſome of his agents, or perhaps the mere fame of the great armament making in France and in Germany, drew in many Engliſh; among whom were Roger de Maobray, earl of Northumberland, Waleran earl of Meulant, and his half-brother, William de Warrene, earl of Surrey. On Septuageſima Sunday, in the year eleven hundred and forty ſeven, a general aſſembly of the French kingdom was held at Eſtampes; where Bernard having reported the reſolution of the emperor and the ſtates of the empire to join in their enterprize, it was deliberated what road they ſhould take: a queſtion, which experience had ſhewn to be indeed of the utmoſt importance. The embaſſadors of Roger the Firſt, king of Sicily, who was then at war with the Greek emperor, Manuel

Chron. Norm. P. 982, 983, ſub ann. 1145. 1146, 1147. Gerv. Chron. et Hoveden, ſub ann. 1147. Brompt. col. 1034. S. Dunelm. hiſt. contin. per J. Haguſt. ſub ann. 1148. Odo de Diog. de profectione Regis Ludov. l. i. ſub ann. 1147.

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nuel Comnenus, offered the king of France, on the part of their maſter, ſhips and all other neceſſaries for the tranſporting of his army by ſea; at the ſame time exhorting him, not to expoſe himſelf, in going by land, to the perfidy of the Greeks; againſt whom they inveighed, as having ſecretly combined with the Turks, to ruin the Latin Chriſtians, in former cruſades. Many of the French approved this counſel, and ſtrongly exhorted the king to accept the offer. For the length of the journey, from Conſtantinople to Syria, or Paleſtine, was in itſelf a terrible difficulty, to an army ſo numerous, and ſo ignorant of the countries, which they were to travel over; and this difficulty was doubled, if their ſuſpicions of the Greeks were not wholly groundleſs. Whereas their journey through Italy would have been ſafe and commodious; and from the ſeveral ports of the kingdom of Naples, or Sicily, they might, in the ſummer, have eaſily paſſed to Joppa, Ptolemais, or ſome other haven of Phœnicia, which had been ſubjected to the crown of Jeruſalem, by the fleets of the Piſans, Genoeſe, or Venetians. But this ſalutary advice was rejected. The chief objection to it was, that it would be impoſſible to tranſport ſo many troops in one embarkation, and that the embarking of them at different times would cauſe too long a delay. As for the apprehenſions of perfidy in the Greeks, they were partly removed, by letters

ters received from the emperor, but ſtill more by the confidence, that the king himſelf, and all his army, had in their own ſtrength, which they thought ſufficient to ſubdue both the Greeks and the Mahometans, though they ſhould be united; eſpecially with the aid of their German confederates: not well conſidering, that the greater their numbers were, the greater would be the difficulty of ſupplying their wants, in an enemy's country, or in that of a deceitful and treacherous friend. They reſolved therefore to go by Conſtantinople; and this reſolution was agreed to, by the emperor Conrade, who ſet out firſt, at the head of ſeventy thouſand horſe, all heavy armed, beſides a numerous infantry and light horſe conſiſting of very good ſoldiers. The king of France followed him, about three months afterwards, by the ſame road, with a cavalry equal to his, and an infantry little inferior; it being agreed that they ſhould unite their forces at Conſtantinople. But before the French could reach that city, Conrade had left it, out of impatience for action; or becauſe he apprehended that two ſuch vaſt armies, when joined together, could not have found the neceſſary means of ſubſiſtence; or, perhaps, from an unwillingneſs to ſhare with the French, either the advantages, or the glory, of the great conqueſts he hoped to make. His deſign was to go and beſiege Iconium, the capital of Lycaonia, which

Gul. Tyr. l. xvi. Geſt. Ludov. vii. apud Du-cheſne, c. 5, 6, 7, 8.

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was an open and fertile country: but truſting to guides that were given him by the Greek emperor, he was led into the deſarts and ſtraits of Mount Taurus, towards Cappadocia, where his army, being in want of all kinds of proviſions, was deſtroyed in much the ſame manner, as the former cruſaders, of whom an account has been given. For the ſultan of Iconium, alarmed at the intelligence he received, that almoſt the whole ſtrength of Europe, under it's two greateſt monarchs, was coming againſt him, had, for ſome time, made extraordinary preparations to reſiſt them, imploring aſſiſtance even from the furtheſt parts of the Eaſt. By this means he had collected a numerous army; who, being excellent archers, all mounted on horſes very active and ſwift, and all light-armed, took advantage of the mountainous and difficult country the enemy were engaged in, and ruined their heavy troops, whoſe horſes were rendered uſeleſs by hunger and toil, without ever expoſing themſelves in a cloſe fight, which they were unfit for. Their manner of combating reſembled that of the Parthians againſt the Roman legions, infeſting the enemy with ſhowers of arrows, and ſaving themſelves by flight, when they were attacked, but preſently returning to the charge. Thus of this army, ſo formidable in it's numbers, and in the valor of the men, hardly a tenth part eſcaped with the emperor, who had been wounded with two arrows,

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into the territory of Nice, then poſſeſt by the Greeks; where having found a retreat, and the refreſhments they wanted, they ſtopped awhile, to wait for the arrival of the French king, who, they heard, was marching that way.

The faults committed by Conrade were quite inexcuſable. He ought to have ſent to the prince of Antioch, or to the king of Jeruſalem, for guides, to conduct him from Conſtantinople to Iconium, and from thence into Syria; and not have truſted the ſafety of his army to the doubtful faith of the Greeks. But if his affinity with Manuel Comnenus, whoſe wife was ſiſter to his, and the fair words of that emperor, who was ſkilful in the art of diſſembling, made him at firſt neglect this caution; yet when he found, during his march over the lands of the empire, ſeveral proofs of hoſtile malice and treachery in the Greeks, it was a ſtrange infatuation, that he ſhould go on, in an enemy's country, without any diſtruſt of his guides; that he ſhould conſult only them, as to the quantity of proviſions, which it would be neceſſary to carry with him; and that, even when he began to diſcover their perfidy, he ſhould guard them ſo ill, that they were able to make their eſcape, by night, and leave him in the midſt of unknown mountains: all which we are aſſured of, by moſt authentic hiſtorians! With a conduct ſo abſurd, it was impoſſible that his

V. Nicet. l. i. c. 5.

V. Gul. Tyr. et Odo de Diog. ut ſupra. Geſt. Lud. vii. c. 6, 7, 8.

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army ſhould not be deſtroyed, unleſs a ſtill greater miracle, than any of thoſe which Bernard pretended to work, had been really done to preſerve it.

But, while the imperial troops were thus ſacrificed to the thoughtleſs credulity and ſimplicity of their leader, the French arrived at Conſtantinople. They and their king were received by Manuel Comnenus, with a great ſhew of kindneſs, under which he concealed the heart of an enemy, apprehenſive of their force, and bent on their ruin. For, whatever doubt may be made of the treachery of his grandfather Alexius, it is certain this emperor dealt moſt perfidiouſly with Conrade and the Germans, who had done nothing to excuſe ſo foul a proceeding. But he acted on principles of political jealouſy, and with an intention, as Nicetas Choniates, who was both his ſecretary and hiſtorian, declares, *that the calamities, brought, by his means, on theſe armies, might be an example of terror, to fright their poſterity from ever more ſetting foot on the lands of the empire.* In all probability, he would have ſuffered for it, by drawing on himſelf the arms of the French, if, during their abode at Conſtantinople, the injuries done to their allies had been known. But they were deceived by a rumour, which he artfully cauſed to be ſpread, that Conrade had taken Iconium. This raiſed ſuch an impatience in Louis and his army, to ſhare in the conqueſts which

Odo de Diog. l. iii. iv. Nicetas, l. i. c. 5. ſect. 9.

V. Nicet. ut ſupra.

which they thought the Germans were making, that they were advanced almoſt to Nice, before the truth was diſcovered to them. Indeed, the biſhop of Langres, a man of great ſagacity, had in the midſt of theſe flattering and deluſive reports, exhorted the king to make himſelf maſter of Conſtantinople; and had ſhewn that he might do it, without any difficulty, or riſk to his army, by ſtopping the aqueducts which ſupplied the city with all its freſh water, or even by entering it at ſeveral breaches, which he had obſerved in the walls. The utility of this meaſure he proved by good arguments; aud the juſtice of it he grounded on the behaviour of the Greeks in former cruſades, from whence he inferred a neceſſary diſtruſt of them now; and likewiſe on their being ſchiſmaticks and hereticks. But the king was more ſcrupulous, in this point, than the biſhop, and could not be perſuaded to turn his arms againſt a Chriſtian prince, when he had vowed to employ them only againſt the Mahometans. He alſo alledged, that he had conſulted the pope on this affair, before he ſet out, and that his Holineſs had not dared to declare it to be lawful. Such a conſultation itſelf ſufficiently proves, that the alarms of Manuel Comnenus were not ill founded. Fortunately for him, Eugenius the Third and Louis le Jeune paid a regard to religion, as well as utility: otherwiſe it is evident, that reaſons of ſtate would as much

V. Odo de Diog. ut ſupra.

much have induced them to begin and ſecure the conqueſts they meditated, by taking poſſeſſion of Conſtantinople, and other towns of the Greek empire that lay in their way, as it did him to aſſiſt the Turks in this war againſt the Latin Chriſtians. Nor does it ſeem at all probable, that he could have reſiſted ſuch an army, if they had attacked him; eſpecially, as we are told, that the fleet of the king of Sicily was ready to cooperate with the French in the ſiege. But, the counſel of the biſhop of Langres being rejected, they paſſed over the Boſphorus, in veſſels furniſhed by the emperor, who preſently afterwards made them feel their dependence upon him, by forbidding any proviſions to be brought to their camp, till all the nobility had taken the ſame oath of fealty to him, which thoſe of the firſt cruſade had been compelled to take to Alexius. The biſhop of Langres preſſed the king to reſiſt this demand, by attacking immediately the cities of Aſia which belonged to the Greeks: but this too was rejected; and all the nobles took the oath required by the emperor, except the earl of Dreux; who, rather than ſubmit to ſuch an indignity, led off his own vaſſals, and marched forward, at the head of them alone. The reſt of the army ſoon followed; having been joined by a conſiderable body of troops, which the marquis of Montferrat and the earl of Maurienne, the king's uncles, brought to them by

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by ſea. They had paſſed Nicomedia, when they were met by thoſe guides, who had cauſed the defeat of the Germans, and who repeated to them the falſe report of Iconium's being taken: but as ſoon as they came into the country of Nice, Frederick Barbaroſſa, the nephew of Conrade, who ſucceeded to him afterwards in the imperial throne, brought them a true account of his uncle's unhappy condition.

The conſternation, which they were ſtruck with, on receiving this news, was equal to the exceſs of their preſumption before. They now began to perceive the vanity of Bernard's predictions. Louis immediately went, with all his principal nobles, to viſit the emperor, who was encamped not far off. Nothing could be more moving than the firſt interview between theſe two princes. They embraced each other, with tears; and continued, for ſome time, unable to ſpeak. The king was the firſt, who, with the utmoſt generous offers of friendſhip and aſſiſtance, broke the melancholy ſilence; mixing reſpect with condolence, and endeavouring to make the emperor feel, that in pitying his fortune he honored his perſon. Conrade replied with a proper gratitude, and not without dignity, in the midſt of the profoundeſt humiliation. The firſt reſult of their conference was a reſolution to act together, for the future. They next conſidered, what road it would be beſt for them to take, and

Odo de Diog. l. v. Geſt. Ludov. vii. c. 8, 9, 10. Gul. Tyr. l. xvi.

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and determined to go, through Myſia and Lydia, to Smyrna and Epheſus; then to turn eaſtward, and, paſſing the Mæander, advance by Pamphylia and Cilicia, to Antioch. But, before they had gone very far, ſo many of the Germans quitted the army, on account of the diſtreſs they were in, from the loſs of their baggage, that the emperor, finding himſelf left with hardly any troops, thought it would be a ſtain to his honor and dignity, to march, like a private man, under the banner of France. He therefore embarqued at Epheſus, with ſome of his nobles, and ſailed from thence to Conſtantinople, about the end of the year eleven hundred and forty-ſeven, propoſing to ſtay in that city till the ſpring, and then to perform his vow at Jeruſalem. It ſeems very ſtrange, that, after he had ſuffered ſo much by the perfidy of the Greek emperor, he ſhould rather chuſe to reſide in the court of that prince, than in the camp of his good ally, the king of France! But he was received there with more kindneſs than in his proſperity, Manuel being contented with having reduced him to need his compaſſion.

In the mean time the French army departed from Epheſus, and came to the banks of the Mæander. Though they were ſtill in the limits of the Greek empire, they found the Turks poſted on both ſides of the river; the emperor having allowed them to enter his frontiers without any oppoſition.

V. Epiſt. Surg. 39 Lud. Reg. ad Sugerum. Odo de Diog. l. v, vi, vii.

At

At ſight of the enemy, whom they did not expect, they halted, to conſider, what courſe they ſhould take. Their ſituation was now very perilous. The proviſions they had brought were almoſt conſumed: on one ſide they were ſhut up by a long ridge of mountains, upon which a numerous body of Turks was encamped, and on the other by the river, which they were told was not fordable; but, after a long ſearch, they had the good fortune to diſcover a ford. There they determined to paſs; but, in executing this reſolution, they were attacked by the enemy before and behind them. The king himſelf made head againſt thoſe who fell upon his rear, and ſoon repulſed their aſſault, which was little more than a ſkirmiſh; while the earls of Flanders, of Champagne, and of Noyon, to whom he had given the command of his van-guard, advancing boldly at the head of their troops, got over the water, and vigorouſly attacking the Turks, who guarded the bank, entirely routed them, and took their camp. The French loſt only one man in this action, namely, Milo earl of Nogent; but many of the enemy were killed or made priſoners. Probably the Turks, thus defeated, were only ſome bodies of irregular and light troops, which could not ſtand in a cloſe fight againſt the French cavalry. Perhaps too, not out of fear, but prudence and good conduct, their leaders deſired to avoid any battle with the French, where

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where the latter could act without the utmoſt diſadvantage; waiting to deſtroy them, as they had done their confederates, by ſafer means, and in ſuch ſituations as ſhould take from them the power of reſiſtance. Whatever was the cauſe of this happy ſucceſs, the joy it gave to Louis and his army was of a ſhort duration. After they had furniſhed themſelves with victuals and forage at Laodicea, they continued their journey, and came the next day, about noon, to the foot of a mountain, the aſcent up to which was narrow and difficult. Their march was in two columns, the foremoſt of which was called the van-guard, and the hindmoſt the rear-guard. The command of theſe diviſions was given, by turns, to all the principal barons; and it happened that the van-guard, which conſiſted of more than two thirds of the army, was led, that day, by Geoffry de Rançon, baron of Taillebourg in Poictou, who had orders to encamp on the top of the mountain; it being the intention of the king that the whole army ſhould paſs the night in that poſt. But this nobleman arriving there without any impediment on the part of the Turks, who were not ſeen during his march, and finding that he had ſome hours of daylight before him, thought it would be better to encamp on the plain, which, as they looked down upon it, appeared exceedingly fertile and pleaſant. This advice being approved by the earl of Maurienne, he paid

V. Epiſt. Lud. Reg. ad Sugerum inter Sug. epiſt. 39. Odo de Diog. l. vi. Gul. Tyr. l. xvi. Geſt. Ludov. vii. Reg. c. 12, 13.

no

no regard to his orders; but, without any notice having been ſent to the king, deſcended the mountain, and, when he came to the foot of it, marked out a camp, in a very commodious and agreeable ſituation. The queen and all her ladies were with him, and, perhaps a deſire of gratifying them with better accommodations was the chief reaſon of his having committed this fault, againſt all the laws of military diſcipline. The rear-guard, encumbered with a great deal of baggage, and making no doubt of the van-guard's being poſted upon the brow of the hill, ſuppoſed that they had time to ſpare before night, and therefore marched very ſlowly: ſo that the ſun was near ſetting, while even the foremoſt of them had ſtill ſome part of the aſcent to ſurmount. In the mean while, the Turks, who had kept by the ſide of them, at a ſmall diſtance, being covered from their ſight by ſome riſing grounds, were informed by their ſcouts, that the two parts of the Chriſtian army were ſeparated ſo far, as not to be able to aſſiſt each other: upon which, with great expedition, they went and poſſeſſed themſelves of the top of the mountain, where the French van-guard had been ordered to encamp. Then, having formed a line of battle, they ſuffered the rear-guard to advance unmoleſted, till their foremoſt ſquadrons had almoſt reached the ſummit of the aſcent, and the reſt were far engaged in the deep

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſupra.

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deep hollow ways, which embarraſſed the middle of the hill. Having thus drawn them on to inevitable deſtruction, they made a ſudden attack upon them, firſt with ſhowers of arrows, and then ſword in hand; which threw them immediately into the greateſt confuſion. For, as they expected no enemy, but imagined that the troops, they ſaw over their heads, had been their own van-guard, they marched in a very careleſs, diſorderly manner; and many of them, to eaſe themſelves of the weight of their arms, had thrown them into the waggons that carried the baggage. All things concurred to aid the Turks, and render the valor of the French ineffectual; the narrow defiles, in which they could not form any order of battle; the roughneſs and ſteepneſs of the aſcent, which made their heavy-armed cavalry uſeleſs; the impediment of their baggage, which, being placed in the midſt of them, hindered thoſe behind from aſſiſting the foremoſt; and the inferiority of their number to that of the enemy: ſo that ſcarce ſeven thouſand, out of above thirty thouſand, were able to eſcape; the reſt being all either killed or taken. Among the ſlain was the earl of Surrey, and forty other noblemen of the firſt rank. Louis did every thing, that a moſt courageous general could poſſibly do, to encourage his ſoldiers; expoſing his perſon, and fighting valiantly at the head of the foremoſt, till he had gained the

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the ſummit of the hill; where he deſperately maintained his ground for ſome time, till all his braveſt knights lay dead at his feet. He ſeemed reſolved to die there too, with his ſword in his hand: but ſome of his ſervants, ſeeing the enemy begin to employ themſelves in plundering the baggage, took that opportunity, and led him away, almoſt by force, to a rock, where they hoped to ſecure him, by the benefit of the night, which was then coming on: but, being obſerved and purſued by a ſuperior body of Turks, moſt of them were cut to pieces, and the reſt put to flight. The king, in this extremity, climbed up a tree, which grew out of the ſide of the rock, and from thence raiſed himſelf up to the brow of the cliff. Several arrows were ſhot at him there by the enemy, from which he was preſerved by the ſtrength of his armor, and the boughs that covered and ſcreened him: but when ſome of the Turks attempted to climb the tree, he clove their heads, or cut off their hands and arms, as they clung to the branches; defending himſelf with ſuch an obſtinate bravery, that the reſt of the party, being ignorant who he was, and afraid to loſe their ſhare in the ſpoils of the baggage, drew off, and left him. He remained on the cliff the greater part of the night, not daring to leave it, for fear of falling into the enemy's power. But they, loaded with plunder and embarraſſed with the multitude of the priſoners they had taken,

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taken, thought it adviſeable to retire, when it began to grow dark; leſt the French van-guard ſhould return, and fall upon them in that diſorder. Nor were their apprehenſions ill founded. For, as ſoon as Louis ſaw his rear-guard attacked, rightly conjecturing from what this unexpected diſaſter had happened, he ſent Odo de Deuil, his chaplain and ſecretary, to try if he could diſcover ſome other path in the mountain, leading from thence to the plain, and go by that way, to inform his van-guard of the peril he was in, and order them to haſten to his aſſiſtance. That monk (whoſe memoirs I have principally followed) performed his commiſſion unperceived by the enemy: but, having been obliged to take a great circuit, he arrived too late to prevent the defeat of the rear-guard, by any ſuccours from thoſe to whom he came. The baron de Taillebourg and the earl of Maurienne ſet out indeed, as ſoon as they heard the news he brought, with all the beſt of their troops, and re-aſcended the mountain, as faſt as the ſteepneſs of the aſcent would permit: but, before they could reach the top, they met the king. After the enemy were retired, ſome of his rear-guard, who had eſcaped from the ſlaughter, by hiding themſelves in the caverns of the hill, happened to paſs very near him. Finding them to be Frenchmen, by the language they ſpoke, he made himſelf known to them. One of them immediately

Odo de Diog. l. vii.

mediately furniſhed him with a horſe, on which he rode through the heaps of his dead or dying ſubjects, and wandered, ſome time, in the intricate paths of the mountain, ſeeking his way, in the darkneſs of the night, without any guide, and under continual apprehenſions of meeting the Turks, till he diſcovered the fires of his camp on the plain. Theſe ſerving to direct him, he deſcended the hill, about the middle of which he fell in with the cavalry, that was coming to his aid, under Geoffry de Rançon and the earl of Maurienne. They, with mixed ſentiments of joy and ſhame, received and conducted him ſafe from thence to the camp; where his arrival diſpelled ſome part of the terror, which had ſeized the queen and the other ladies. But notwithſtanding the conſolation they found in his ſafety, the whole camp was now a ſcene of affliction and mourning. In every tent, a near relation, or a dear friend, was bewailed. Their ſorrow was aggravated by the great danger they were in of wanting proviſions; moſt of the ſtores they had collected at Laodicea having been taken by the enemy, together with the baggage of the rear-guard. It was ſtill twelve days march from thence to Attalia, the capital of Pamphylia, which was the firſt place, on their road, where they could hope to receive any aſſiſtance or refreſhment; and they were informed that the enemy had deſtroyed all the forage in the country through

which they were neceſſarily to paſs. Theſe difficulties, added to the grief and the ignominy of ſuch a defeat, raiſed an univerſal reſentment againſt Geoffry de Rançon, who, by the breach of his orders, had occaſioned their misfortune. All the army, with one voice, demanded his death, and, doubtleſs, he ought to have ſuffered a capital puniſhment: but he was ſaved by the clemency of Louis and the warm interceſſions of the earl of Maurienne, who, being conſcious that he had himſelf a ſhare in his fault, was extremely ſollicitous to procure him a pardon. Indeed the relaxation of military diſcipline, which was one cauſe of the deſtruction of ſo many armies in theſe expeditions, aroſe from the feudal government. For the great barons were accuſtomed to ſo much independence, that they would hardly obey their leaders, who were obliged to treat them with ſuch regards, as much impaired the force of authority neceſſary to keep an army in order. Louis having yielded to his uncle's entreaties in favor of the culpable baron de Taillebourg, took however ſome care to ſecure himſelf, for the future, from ſuffering again by a ſimilar diſobedience. Inſtead of permitting all his principal barons to lead his army by turns, as they had hitherto done, he now conferred the perpetual command of his van-guard, with a ſuperior authority over the whole, upon an old officer of great merit, whom the hiſtorian

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I follow names only Gilbert, without giving him any additional title of honor. The ſame writer informs us, that he was elected by a majority of the votes of the army, whom the king was pleaſed to conſult with, in this affair. The conduct of the rear-guard was given to Everard des Barres, maſter of the Temple, who, with a troop of his knights, had joined the army not long before: but he was to act under the orders of Gilbert, whom Louis declared he would himſelf ſubmit to obey; and whoſe directions that prince followed, in forming a ſtrong body, out of the beſt of his forces, both horſe and foot, which he commanded in perſon, and placed between the van and the rear-guard, for the defence of the baggage, and to ſuccour, occaſionally, either the one or the other. All, who had eſcaped by flight from the late action, were now come in: but many of theſe having loſt their horſes, they, with ſome bands of foot, were poſted in the hindmoſt ranks of the rear, and armed with bows and arrows; that when the Turks, as their cuſtom was, ſhould make their diſcharge at a diſtance, theſe archers might annoy them in the ſame manner, and prevent their being ſecured by the ſuddenneſs of their flight. This good diſpoſition had ſuch an happy effect, that, being attacked by the enemy in the firſt days of their march, they not only repulſed them without any conſiderable loſs to themſelves,

Odo de Diog. l. vii.

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ſelves, but cut to pieces a great part of their army; which ſo daunted the reſt, that they left off the purſuit: and the French continued their journey in quiet, for ſeveral days, through a moſt difficult and dangerous country. But, though they met with no enemy, they ſuffered grievous hardſhips, by the want of proviſions for themſelves and their horſes: againſt which calamity they could find no reſource, but to feed on the latter; preſerving only the beſt and ſtrongeſt, by ſome ſcanty ſupplies, which they procured, at a great price, from the avarice of the neighbouring Greeks. Thus they, at laſt, came ſafe to Attalia, a city of the Greek empire, but tributary to the Turks, whoſe territories bordered upon it every way, except to the ſea, on the coaſt of which it was ſituated. The governor did not dare to refuſe the king of France and his army admittance: but, that he might deliver himſelf from them as ſpeedily as he could, he offered them ſhips, to convey them into the dominions of Antioch by ſea. The propoſition was reliſhed by Louis and his council, the paſſage being much ſhorter, and leſs dangerous, by ſea, than by land; eſpecially, as the cavalry was almoſt diſmounted. It was this circumſtance, which made it ſeem practicable to procure ſhipping for them; men being much more eaſily tranſported than horſes: but, after a delay of five weeks, the king had the mortification to

V. epiſt. 39. Lud. ad Sug.

Odo de Diog. ut ſupra.

to find that one half of the number of veſſels, which the governor had promiſed, was wanting. His army ſuffered extremely, by the great ſcarcity and dearneſs of food; an evil, which he feared would encreaſe every day that he remained in that city. He therefore determined to embark with his nobles and men at arms, leaving his infantry to wait till more tranſports could be obtained. But they, being diſtruſtful of the faith of the Greeks, begged permiſſion of the king to endeavour to force their paſſage by land. Louis, though unwillingly, granted their requeſt; and having ſupplied them, as far as he was able, with money and other neceſſaries, put them under the command of two noble chiefs, who were willing to accept the dangerous charge, Archambaud earl of Bourbon, and Theodoric earl of Flanders. He alſo purchaſed horſes for ſeveral of his knights, who, wanting room in the ſhips, were left to go with the foot. Laſtly, that nothing in his power might be wanting to ſerve theſe unhappy men, he concluded a treaty with the governor of Attalia, and with an embaſſador of the Greek emperor, who came to him there, by which they agreed, that, upon his paying to them five hundred marks, they ſhould furniſh him with guides and a convoy of cavalry, to attend on his forces during a part of their journey; and ſuffer all the ſick to remain in the town, till they ſhould be able to bear a

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſupra.

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voyage by ſea. When all this was performed, he ſet ſail for Antioch, carrying with him his queen and her whole train of ladies. But a treaty with thoſe in whom it was impoſſible to place any confidence was a ſlender ſecurity: nor could he reaſonably hope, that this part of his army would ever join him again, by the way they propoſed; it being a march of forty days, through an enemy's country. The event proved as fatal, as the undertaking was deſperate. Before they had gone many miles, they were attacked, on their march, by a much ſuperior number of Turks; and though they fought very bravely, and beat off the enemy, the Greek guides and convoy, apprehending more aſſaults from other armies of Turks, abſolutely refuſed to go any further. The French therefore were compelled to return to Attalia, and with great difficulty obtained permiſſion of the governor to encamp under the walls, till ſhips could be procured, to convey them to Antioch. In this ſituation they were harraſſed by frequent attacks of the Turks, with whom the townſmen perfidiouſly maintained an intelligence, and, being very ill ſupplied with proviſions, died in great numbers, by famine and ſickneſs. About four thouſand of the braveſt among them, ſeeing their countrymen periſh ſo miſerably, and preferring, as men under a grievous diſtreſs are too apt to do, any other evils to thoſe they endured, attempted once more to

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſupra.

go by land: but they were ſurrounded in their march by an army of Turks, who offering to take them into their pay, if they would change their religion, three thouſand of them accepted that ignominious condition, and the reſt were made captives. All thoſe who had remained under the walls of Attalia were deſtroyed, by different ways, except the two earls, their leaders; and a few knights; who, when the army had returned to that city, deſpairing of ever performing the journey by land, embarked in a merchant ſhip, which they found in the port, and were ſafely tranſported to the mouth of the Orontes, about five leagues below Antioch. The king of France, and all whom he carried with him by ſea, had arrived there ſome time before, and had been received with great honors, by Raymond de Poictiers, Eleanor's uncle, who having been educated in the Engliſh court by King Henry, had gone from England into Paleſtine, upon an invitation ſent to him by Fulk, earl of Anjou and king of Jeruſalem, to marry Conſtantia, daughter and heireſs to Boamond the younger, and niece to Meliſente, the wife of that king. By this match he obtained the principality of Antioch, to which Cilicia and Tarſus were then annexed: but theſe were ſoon taken from him by the Greek emperor, John, the ſon of Alexius, to whom he alſo was compelled to do homage for Antioch. Nevertheleſs, after the

V. Gul. Tyr. l. xiv. c. 4. 9. 20. 24. 30.

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death of that prince, he held this ſtate independant of Manuel, the ſon of John, and was accounted the next in power and dignity to the king of Jeruſalem. Upon the coming of the French he conceived no ſmall hopes of enlarging his territories. Louis had ſtill an army, compoſed of all the beſt gentry of France, who being refreſhed and re-mounted, made a moſt formidable body of cavalry, and, joined to the forces which Raymond could himſelf bring into the field, might have been able to perform very glorious exploits. That prince had the higheſt reputation for courage and military abilities, of all the Latin Chriſtians in Syria or Paleſtine; nor was he leſs famed for the talents of addreſs and inſinuation; which he now exerted, to perſuade the French king to turn his arms, in conjunction with him, againſt Aleppo, or ſome other town, adjacent to his frontiers; hoping, that whatſoever they ſhould conquer from the Turks, would afterwards be annexed to his principality. Full of theſe ſchemes, he not only made court to Louis, but, by the moſt generous preſents and the moſt winning manners, endeavoured to gain all the barons in the army to favor his purpoſe. He more particularly ſought to ingratiate himſelf with the young queen, his niece; thinking that, poſſibly, ſhe might have more influence over the mind of her huſband, than any of his counſellors: and he ſucceeded ſo well, that ſhe became very warm,

V. Neubrigen. l. i. c. 21. et Gul. Tyr. l. xiv. c. 21.

Gul. Tyr. l. xiv. ſect. 21.

warm, and perhaps too warm, in his intereſts. But Lewis pertinaciouſly refuſed to engage in any expedition, till he had performed his vow at Jeruſalem, or to take any reſolution concerning the plan and conduct of the war, before he went thither. Raymond, who knew that the queen of Jeruſalem, and the lords of her council, would deſire to employ the French in other undertakings, of leſs advantage to him, was much diſguſted, and exceedingly reſented this diſappointment. But while he was angrily complaining about it, and labouring to engage the barons of France to prevail upon their maſter to alter his mind, that monarch, on a ſudden, aſſembled his council, and communicated to them a violent apprehenſion, which he had conceived, of a plot formed by Raymond, to take from him his queen, who, he ſuppoſed, was herſelf conſenting to the rape. All his counſellors, much ſurprized, and either alarmed at the danger, or fearing to oppoſe the bent of his mind in an affair of this nature, adviſed him to go that night out of Antioch, and carry Eleanor with him, however unwilling ſhe might be to depart, without any notice given, either to her, or her uncle. This was accordingly executed: he got one of the gates to be opened to him at midnight, bore off the queen to the main body of his army, which was encamped without the walls, and marched from thence as haſtily as he could

Geſt. Ludov. vii. reg. c. 15. Gul. Tyr. l. xvi. ſect. 27.

to

to Jeruſalem. All we know further of the grounds of ſo ſtrange a proceeding is only from uncertain reports and conjectures. Some have accuſed Eleanor of an amour with her uncle. He was indeed (as we are aſſured by the archbiſhop of Tyre, who knew him well) the handſomeſt prince of his time, and more amiable ſtill by the charms of his wit and demeanor, than by his beauty; which, added to the luſtre of a great reputation for perſonal valour, might well ſeduce a lady's heart: nor was that princeſs leſs capable of inſpiring than of feeling a violent paſſion. But one cannot eaſily believe that he would attempt to debauch his niece, much leſs, to take her openly away from her huſband, whoſe power he was very unable to reſiſt. It is ſtill more incredible, that ſhe could ſo totally forget her own dignity, and all the pride of her ſex, as to be willing to deſcend from the throne of the firſt kingdom in Europe, and live with him, as a miſtreſs, while another lady, the princeſs Conſtantia, ſtill kept poſſeſſion of his bed, as a wife. To make room for her there, by a divorce, was not in his power: for, notwithſtanding the wonderful and moſt ſcandalous eaſineſs of the Roman ſee, in that age, with regard to the diſſolving of marriage, the pope would not have given ſo monſtrous a ſanction to adultry, rape, and inceſt, all complicated together, upon any pretence; eſpecially where ſo great a king was concerned. And by divorcing

See Pere Dan. Louis vii. ſub ann. 1158. V. Gul. Tyr. l. xiv. c. 21.

vorcing his wife, if it had been in his power, or ridding himſelf of her, by any other means, more practicable, and more wicked, Raymond would have loſt his principality too: for he held it in right of his marriage. According to Matthew Paris, it was not on ſuſpicion of an intrigue with this prince, but with a Mahometan, whom he does not name, that the fame of Eleanor ſuffered. And Vincent de Beauvais, who wrote about the ſame time, imputes the ſuſpicions, which Louis conceived of her, while he was in the Eaſt, to her having received ſome preſents from Saladin; meaning, I preſume, the great prince of that name, who, about thirty years afterward, conquered the Holy land. But this was impoſſible: for that ſultan was not then eleven years old. Nor does he aſcribe her divorce to this alone, but to a general charge of incontinence; which is alſo brought againſt her by a contemporary writer, of the greateſt authority, William archbiſhop of Tyre. Yet the latter has left his readers as much in the dark, as all the other hiſtorians who lived in thoſe days, with regard to the perſon ſhe intrigued with. Some of the moſt eminent modern writers have affirmed, that the lover, whom Louis was jealous of, was a young Turk, born in the city of Antioch, and converted to Chriſtianity a little before this cruſade. They call him Saladin, and moſt of them tell us, that the queen was reſolved to forſake her huſband, and go off with

Vid. Matt. Paris, ſub ann. 1150.

Speculum hiſtoriæ, c. 128.

Gul. Tyr. l. xvi. c. 27.

Duplex et Mezerai grande hiſtoir. Voltaire hiſtoire des croiſades. Hiſtoire de Suger. l. vi. Vertot revol. de Malthe.

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with this galant, by her uncle's advice. Such a ſtory does not ſeem to merit the regard that they have given to it, eſpecially not being vouched by any writer who lived in thoſe times. Upon the whole, it is probable that the jealouſy of the king had no other object than Prince Raymond himſelf, and was ill founded; having only been excited by ſome youthful levity in the queen's behaviour, and by the warmth ſhe expreſſed for the intereſts of her uncle; or, at moſt, by an inclination, which ſhe might diſcover, to ſtay with him at Antioch, while Louis was in Paleſtine, and which he might encourage, without meaning to cauſe a total ſeparation between her and her huſband. This opinion is well warranted by the words of an hiſtorian who lived in that age. And the ſame writer adds, that there were many who blamed the king, for having, by the manner in which he left Antioch, diſgraced the royal dignity: which is alſo confirmed by the archbiſhop of Tyre. Raymond was of a paſſionate and fiery temper, and might, in his anger, throw out ſome haſty words, which alarmed Louis, whoſe mind was liable to ſudden impreſſions, and violent in all its motions. But to imagine, that the prince could have meditated, either the rape of the queen, or any attempt againſt the life of the king, is to ſuppoſe him a madman: for he muſt by ſuch outrages have drawn on himſelf inevitable deſtruction; as the whole Chriſtian

Nouvel abregé chronol. de l'hiſtoire de France, et alii.

V. Geſt. Lud. vii. reg. c. 15. ap. Ducheſne.

Gul. Tyr. l. xvi. c. 27.

tian world would certainly have made themſelves the avengers of Louis, and he could expect no aſſiſtance even from his own ſubjects. In all other parts of his conduct he appears a man of good ſenſe, and not ſo given up to the power of his paſſions as to have been abſolutely deaf to the voice of his reaſon. When therefore the counſellors of Louis adviſed him to carry his queen out of Antioch, in the manner he did, they only flattered his humour, or were infected with a vain and imaginary fear, caught on a ſudden from him, without weighing the arguments of improbability, which oppoſed the belief of what he urged. Indeed there are ſo many inſtances, in all times, of miniſters authoriſing the follies of kings from mere complaiſance, that I rather ſhould impute this advice to that motive, than to an error in judgment. As ſoon as Louis arrived at Jeruſalem, he wrote to Abbot Suger a letter of confidence on this extraordinary buſineſs. It never was publiſhed: but the anſwer, which that miniſter made to it, we have, and it is in theſe word; "With regard to "the queen, your conſort, I preſume to "recommend to you, under ſubmiſſion to "your own pleaſure, that you ſhould con-"ceal the rancour of your mind, *if any* "*there be*, till God ſhall give you a ſafe re-"turn to your kingdom, when you may "take the moſt proper meaſures, in this and "other affairs."

V. Suger epiſt. ap. Ducheſne, epiſt. 57.

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The words, *if any there be*, indicate, I think, very plainly, that Louis had no proof of guilt in Eleanor: for, had there appeared againſt her any thing more than ſuſpicion, Suger could not have expreſſed a doubt, whether he retained his reſentment. And, from all that is ſaid by that miniſter on this ſubject, one may judge that he did not think the ſuſpicion well founded. He could not ſay more, without directly blaming his maſter, for the ſteps he had already taken upon it: but this was enough to ſtop him from further acts of that nature, and to gain time for inſtilling into his mind ſuch advice, as he would not have endured before his paſſion was cooled by reflexion. The effect was ſo good, that he not only continued to live with the queen, while they remained in the Eaſt, without any open marks of hatred or diſguſt, but had a child by her, who was born about five or ſix months after his return into France: which appears to afford a very ſtrong preſumtion, that he was not convinced of her having diſhonored his bed: for had he been ſo, it hardly can be ſuppoſed, that he would ever have admitted her to it again.

A. D. 1148. When the French arrived at Jeruſalem, they found there the emperor Conrade, with whom Louis, after having ſometime ſtaid in that city, in order to pay his devotions at all the holy places, went to Ptolemais, or Accon, where a great council was held, to concert a plan of opera-

V. Gul. Tyr. l. xvii. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

operations, for carrying on the war againſt the Mahometans. There were preſent, beſides the princes and nobles of France, two legates of the pope; one of whom had attended the camp of the emperor, and the other that of Louis; Henry duke of Auſtria, the emperor's brother; Frederick duke of Suabia, his nephew; with many other nobles of Germany and of Italy; the young king of Jeruſalem; and all the principal lords of his kingdom. After ſome deliberation, they unanimouſly reſolved to lay ſiege to Damaſcus. Their forces united were ſufficient to take that city, and they began very happily: but (as if a ſpirit of infatuation had ſeized all thoſe who engaged in this war) they changed their attack, when it was juſt on the point of being ſucceſsful, and deprived themſelves of the benefit of proviſions and water, which they had been plentifully ſupplied with, in their former ſituation, but found no poſſibility of procuring on the ſide which they had removed to. Nor could they return, when they diſcovered the ill conſequences of what they had done; becauſe all the approaches were ſeized by the enemy, and ſtrengthened with barricades, and other defences, which had been wanting before. It is ſaid, that this error in their conduct was owing to treacherous counſels, given by the nobles of Paleſtine; who, having notice of an intention, in the chiefs of the cruſade, to deliver the city, when taken, to the earl of Flanders, as a

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ſtate independent on the kingdom of Jeruſalem, were ſo much offended, that they rather wiſhed to have it continue under the power of the Turks. Another reaſon aſſigned for it is, that they were influenced by the prince of Antioch to defeat this undertaking, becauſe he maliciouſly deſired to diſgrace the French king. And a ſtrong ſuſpicion prevailed of their having been bribed by the Turks of Damaſcus. But theſe reports were all uncertain; nor (even admitting the truth of them) do they much ſerve to diſculpate the emperor and his royal confederate, who certainly ſhould not have altered the plan of their ſiege, without a more careful attention to what might enſue from it, in deference to any opinions or counſels.

The ill ſucceſs of this enterprize, and the jealouſy, which very naturally aroſe from thence, in the minds of the cruſaders, that they were betrayed even by thoſe they came to aſſiſt, made them unwilling to undertake any other. The emperor firſt departed, and returned home by ſea, without any further diſaſter; and after him moſt of the Germans and the French; but Louis, deſiring to do ſome act, which might ſerve the Chriſtian cauſe in thoſe parts of the world, lingered in Paleſtine as long as he could; till the ſeditious cabals of the earl of Dreux, his brother, againſt him, in France, and the preſſing inſtances of abbot Suger, obliged him

V. Suger ep. 57, 94, 96. Geſt. Lud. vii. c. 27. Villefore vie de Bernard.

to

to return to his kingdom. He ſailed to Calabria, and from thence went to Rome, where he very eagerly propoſed to Eugenius the Third, who was ſtill in that ſee, the ſending of Bernard to preach another cruſade, in which he declared himſelf willing and ready to join. This appears almoſt incredible: but the firmneſs of a hero is not ſo invincible as the obſtinacy of a bigot. Louis had a mixture of both in his mind, eſpecially of the latter, and imagined that the blood of his innocent ſubjects, ſhed by him at Vitry, would be waſhed off from his ſoul by that of the Infidels. Even the ſhame of having failed in this expedition impelled him to another, wherein, by purſuing a different plan of conduct, he hoped to recover the honor he had loſt. But other princes were far from being in the ſame diſpoſition. All Europe was full of loud complaints againſt Bernard. Two hundred thouſand men had miſerably periſhed in this cruſade, which he had encouraged with prophecies of the moſt happy ſucceſs: nor had one foot of land been gained from the Infidels, or the leaſt ſervice done to the Chriſtians in Aſia, for whoſe benefit it was undertaken. One cannot therefore wonder, that the public reſentment ſhould fall very heavy on the chief author of ſuch a fatal deluſion. The apology, which he made for himſelf in a letter to Eugenius the Third, was by no means ſufficient. He pleaded there, that he had only preached the cruſade in obedience

V. Bernard de conſideratione ad Eugenium pap. l. ii.

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to the orders received from that pope. But he did more than preach; he propheſied, and pretended to miracles. The pope did not command him to take on himſelf the character of a perſon inſpired by God, nor to draw in the people by falſe predictions, to which he gained credit by an appearance of miracles equally falſe. For, to ſuppoſe that true miracles were really done by him, in confirmation of his having received revelations from God, which the event proved to be falſe, is ſuch an abſurdity, and ſuch an impiety, as one would think ſuperſtition itſelf ſhould reject. His plea, that the vices of thoſe who had engaged in this expedition offended God and thereby changed the ſucceſs which he had predicted, is frivolous. For (as the judicious hiſtorian, Vertot, well obſerves) *if he had been endowed with the gift of prophecy upon this occaſion, he ought, by that ſupernatural light, to have known, that they would offend God, and therefore would be puniſhed by all the misfortunes, with which they actually were overwhelmed, inſtead of thoſe victories, which he, as God's miniſter, had made them expect.* It does not even appear from the evidence of any one contemporary author, that, during the courſe of this holy war, the enormities of the Germans and the French were ſo great as to deſerve ſo grievous a puniſhment. The piety of Louis was moſt ſincere; nor is he accuſed of any vice: and Conrade behaved himſelf, in every reſpect, like a good and re-

See Vertot hiſt. de l'ordre de Malte, l. i. p. 101.

religious prince; which is the character given of him by every hiſtorian who has treated this ſubject. Their armies were kept by them in at leaſt as good order, and practiſed all duties of morality or religion, with at leaſt as much ſtrictneſs, as thoſe of the firſt cruſade, which had been more ſucceſsful. But even allowing the fact, that theſe were more vicious, the conſequences drawn from it in juſtification of Bernard cannot be admitted. His predictions were *poſitive*, and under no *reſerves* or *conditions*. Upon the whole, he had no excuſe, but that, according to the general faith of thoſe times, he thought it expedient and lawful to uſe *pious frauds*, for the advancement of a good and holy deſign, ſuch as he took this to be. It was very natural, therefore, that the many ſufferers by this fraud ſhould be extremely incenſed againſt the impoſtor, and againſt the pope himſelf, for the ſhare he had in that ruinous enterpriſe, which had almoſt depopulated the beſt part of Europe. Eugenius, knowing this, contented himſelf with admiring and praiſing the zeal of Louis, and the ardor which he expreſt for another cruſade: but no other was formed till after Jeruſalem had been conquered by Saladin, when that monarch again took the croſs, with Henry the Second, king of England, the emperor Frederick Barbaroſſa, and many other princes, as will be ſhewn in the latter part of this hiſtory. He and the queen of France arri-

V. Gul. Tyr. l. xvii. c. 8.

V. Suger, epiſt. 100.

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ved ſafe in that kingdom, about the end of autumn, in the year eleven hundred and forty nine. Probably the earl of Meulant and Roger de Moubray returned in their company: for we are told, that ſoon afterwards they both came to England, and that the latter was celebrated above all his companions, for having vanquiſhed an emir, or prince of the Turks, in ſingle combat.

V. S. Dunel hiſt. contin. per J. Haguſt. ſub ann. 1148.

But of all the adventurers, who had engaged in this cruſade, none were ſo ſucceſsful, as a fleet of private men, about fourteen thouſand without reckoning the ſailors; moſt of which number were Engliſh, but joined to ſome Normans, Flemings, and others, who aſſociated themſelves under ſeveral chiefs, or under one of ſo little diſtinction, that his name is not mentioned in the contemporary hiſtorians. They ſet ſail from England for Ptolemais or Joppa; but were driven by ſtorms into the river Tagus, juſt when Alphonſo the Firſt, king of Portugal, was beſieging Liſbon, which was ſtill poſſeſſed by the Moors. He was much ſtartled at firſt, upon ſeeing this fleet, which he ſuppoſed came from Africa, or from ſome of the Mahometan princes in Spain, to the relief of the town: but when he found who they were, his fears were changed into joy; he went himſelf to receive them, and, with many careſſes, beſought them to aſſiſt him in conquering from the Infidels ſo important a place; which would be as meritorious a ſervice to Chriſten-

H. de Hunt. l. viii. f. 226. ſect. 2030. Chron. Norm. ſub. ann 1147. Brandæo monarch. Luſit. par. iii. Manuel de Fari hiſt. Portug.

A. D. 1146.

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Chriſtendom, and entitle them as much to all the indulgences granted by Rome, as making war againſt the Saracens or Turks of the Eaſt. They agreed to his reaſoning, and, having joined their forces to his, took the city, after a long and brave defence. Thus was this capital of the kingdom of Portugal conquered from the Moors, in the year eleven hundred and forty ſeven, chiefly by the aid of the Engliſh and Normans. Alphonſo, aſſiſted by the ſame valiant allies, made himſelf maſter, ſoon afterwards, of other diſtricts belonging to the Moors in thoſe parts; which ſucceſſes confirmed to that illuſtrious founder of the Portugueſe monarchy the throne he had been raiſed to about ten years before.

But, while ſome of the Engliſh were thus maintaining the fame of the nation in foreign lands, England was miſerably torn and diſtracted with all the rage of civil war, ſuffering ſtill more by that inward clamity, than the Empire or France by the cruſade. A contemporary writer ſays, that *more than a third of it's inhabitants periſhed.* Even thoſe Engliſh who died in Aſia, fighting for a cauſe they ſuppoſed to be holy were not ſo unhappy, as thoſe who remained ſpectators or inſtruments of the ruin of their country, contending rather for the choice of a tyrant, or the ſuperiority of one faction over another, than for any ſalutary change in the government.

Vid. Hiſt. Ludov. vii. Ducheſne.

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The joy that Matilda felt, from the victory won by the earl of Gloceſter at Wilton, was quickly damped, by the news ſhe heard of the unfortunate death of Milo earl of Hereford. After having eſcaped the greateſt dangers of war, which no man ever braved with more intrepidity, he was accidentally ſhot through the heart by an arrow, which one of his own knights, whom he took out to hunt in company with him, aimed at a ſtag, that paſſed between them.

Geſt. Steph. Reg. p. 960. 963. Gerv. Chron. ſub ann. 1143.

It ſeems as if Providence, by balancing thus the ſucceſs of Matilda with this unexpected misfortune to her party, of which that gentleman had been one of the ſtrongeſt ſupports, meant to prolong the puniſhment of the nation, which, by an univerſal corruption, had drawn on itſelf the ſcourge of this civil war. The complicated guilt of perjury, faction, and ſhameleſs venality, lay heavy upon it, and was naturally and juſtly followed by a general ruin. Beſides all the miſchiefs deſcribed before, a terrible famine now raged in moſt parts of England; the war and the many vexations that the people endured, having occaſioned, for ſome years paſt, a failure of tillage. The fleſh of horſes and dogs, with other unuſual and loathſome food, which they were taught to uſe by dire neceſſity, became the chief ſupport of the poor; infinite numbers of them dying of hunger, or of epidemical diſtempers, produced

Geſt. Steph. Reg. p. 961.

duced by bad nouriſhment. For though in this year, eleven hundred and forty three, the ſeaſon was favorable, and wherever the lands had been tilled the crop was good, it was in many places left ſtanding, and ſuffered to rot on the ground, for want of hands to cut it down; becauſe moſt of the huſbandmen had fled with their families out of the realm, and others, having been forced to quit their dwellings, had built wretched huts, in church-yards, or round the walls of the churches hoping to find a ſanctuary there, againſt the oppreſſions and cruelties of the ſoldiery; and not daring to depart from thence to their labour: ſo that they not only ſuffered the preſent famine, but continued that calamity to the following year. Theſe miſeries were, indeed, more grievouſly felt in thoſe parts of England, which ſtill remained under the dominion of Stephen, or were the theatre of the war between the two parties. For, after the victory gained at Wilton, the earl of Gloceſter took care that the counties, in which his ſiſter's authority was quietly ſettled, ſhould not be harraſſed by diſorders from his own troops, or any unneceſſary exactions. But of this advantage the ſudden change of affairs, which happened not long afterwards, deprived them again, and made them as miſerable as the reſt of the kingdom. The young prince, by whom Providence deſigned to deliver them from all theſe evils, was not yet mature for ſuch a work; and

Ibid. p. 963.

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neither Stephen, nor Matilda, was fit to perform it. Perhaps no civil war was ever carried on, for ſo long a time, with ſo little affection, or eſteem, in either of the parties for the ſovereign whom they fought for, or with ſo much indifference to the good of the publick. It had been, for ſeveral years, a mere conflict of factions, kept up by the hatred that they bore to each other, by the pride of not acknowledging themſelves overcome, or by the fear of ſubmitting to thoſe whom they had injured. And thus it continued, till Henry Plantagenet appeared on the ſcene, and till the ſpirit of party, fatigued at length, and exhauſted by the violence of it's own fury, began to ſubſide, and yield to a general deſire of tranquillity, under the authority of a king, who knew how to make himſelf both feared and beloved.

After the diſgrace that the arms of Stephen had ſuffered at Wilton, he kept himſelf entirely upon the defenſive: but, during the ſpring of the year eleven hundred and forty four, he either found, or made, by a groundleſs ſuſpicion, a new and dangerous enemy, in one of his greateſt and moſt intimate friends, Geoffry de Magnavilla, to whom, with other grants, he had given the earldom of Eſſex. This nobleman had been always attached to his ſervice; and no other was more capable of ſerving him well: for he had a moſt intrepid courage, and an underſtanding which conducted that courage with

A. D. 1144.

Neubrigenſis, l. i. c. 11. Gervaſe, et Huntingdon, ſub ann. 1144. Geſt. Steph. Reg. p. 963. 964.

with prudence; great ſkill in the art of war, and no leſs ſagacity in matters of ſtate. His morals were perfectly ſuitable to the times. He regarded the king more than the publick, and his own intereſt more than the king; was utterly void of religion, and had a heart ſteeled by nature againſt any tender checks of humanity. Thus qualified to advance himſelf in civil commotions he gained the higheſt rank in the army of Stephen, and a principal ſhare of the government; acting as his lieutenant over all parts of the kingdom, wherein the power of that prince was acknowledged. The ſuperiority of his genius gave him ſuch an aſcendant, that his commands, in moſt places, were better obeyed than his maſter's. But ſome unkindneſs had ariſen between him and the queen, occaſioned by his detaining the princeſs Conſtantia, eſpouſed to Euſtace, in the tower of London, of which he was governor, when ſhe was deſirous to remove her from thence: which he did, either to keep ſo important a charge in his own hands, or from an opinion that he could not be juſtified, in letting her depart from that place, where the king had been pleaſed to lodge her under his care, without having an expreſs command from himſelf. This ſeems the moſt probable; becauſe, upon receiving an order from him, he gave her up. And, though in the deſperate ſtate of Stephen's affairs, after the battle of Lincoln, he, with all the other noblemen who ſerved that prince, except Wil-

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William of Ipres, ſubmitted to Matilda, and not only was confirmed by her in his earldom, but received additional favors (as appears by two charters granted to him that year;) yet he ſoon left her, and returned to the party of the king; who continued to employ him in his poſts of the higheſt truſt, for more than three years. Nevertheleſs, he now gave ear to ſome of his favorites, who envied this great earl, and ſuggeſted ſuſpicions, as if, beſides his having arrogantly uſurped to himſelf too large a ſhare of ſovereign power to the apparent diſhonor of the king, he meant to betray him to the empreſs. It does not appear, that there was any evidence of ſuch an intention in him, except popular rumours, and the remembrance of the diſpute between him and the queen, which was revived at this time, and helped to exaſperate his maſter againſt him. While he attended the court of that prince at St. Albans, in a parliamentary council, he was, without legal proceſs, upon a general charge of treaſon brought againſt him by ſome of the barons, thrown into priſon, and threatened with an ignominious death on a gibbet, if he did not give up to the king the tower of London, and his caſtles of Walden and Pleſhy in Eſſex. He could hardly be induced, by the terrors of death, to ſubmit to theſe conditions, impoſed upon him ſo roughly, and with ſo much diſhonor: but, being overcome by the perſuaſions of ſome of his friends, he yielded

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yielded at laſt, and was releaſed: after which he very ſoon declared for Matilda, as Stephen had certainly great cauſe to expect. The cabal of his enemies in the court of that king, who, by driving him out of it, had ſerved their own purpoſes, ſaw this with pleaſure: but the party in general was greatly alarmed at it, expecting much miſchief from a man of his abilities, ſo highly provoked, and then ſet at liberty to purſue his revenge. His actions juſtified theſe apprehenſions. For, beſides his own vaſſals, he now gathered about him, from all parts of England, a band of robbers and outlaws, who were then very numerous, both from the licentiouſneſs and the miſery of the times; and having thus formed a conſiderable army, he maintained it by pillaging religious houſes and churches, and by all other acts of violence, rapine, and cruelty, that men ſo hardened in wickedneſs could commit. The town of Cambridge was ſacked by them, and the country about it laid waſte, before Stephen could come up with forces ſufficient to make head againſt them. At his approach, the earl of Eſſex retired from Cambridge to the neighbouring fens; whether the king durſt not purſue him, but contented himſelf with only building ſome caſtles, in order to check his incurſions; and then returned. While he was employed in other parts, the earl made a furious attack on thoſe caſtles; Hugh Bigot, earl of Norfolk, confederating with him in that attempt.

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſuprà.

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attempt. It ſeems very ſurpriſing, that this lord, by whoſe teſtimony, falſely and corruptly given, Stephen had been aſſiſted to gain the crown, and who had therefore reaſon to think himſelf irreconcileably ill with Matilda, ſhould take a part ſo repugnant to all his former conduct. I find no cauſe aſſigned for it in any hiſtorian: but thoſe times were much accuſtomed to levities of this kind; the barons changing ſides, upon the leaſt diſcontent, without any ſenſe of ſhame; and the very idea of loyalty ſeeming to be effaced from moſt of their minds. It appears, indeed, that Hugh Bigot intended rather to act *againſt Stephen* than *for Matilda*; keeping himſelf in a ſtate of independence, within the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, where his chief power lay. Perhaps the earl of Eſſex might have the ſame views: for, as that nobleman neither went to the court of Matilda, nor received from her any new confirmation of the grants, which ſhe had made to him before, and which he had forfeited by returning to Stephen, it looks as if he had never negociated with her after that time, and as if, even now, ſhe was not cordially reconciled to him, but diſtruſted and deſired to keep him at a diſtance. In that caſe he would naturally fall in with the plan purſued by Hugh Bigot; and, when joined together, they might hope to form *a third party*, which would become ſtrong enough to overpower both the others, or at leaſt to turn

turn the ſcale in favor of that, to which it finally ſhould incline. Several reaſons induce me to believe, that this project was concerted between the two earls: but it was defeated before it came to maturity, by one of thoſe accidents, which blaſt at once the faireſt hopes, and overturn the beſt laid deſigns of ambition. While the earl of Eſſex was beſieging one of the caſtles near Cambridge, which Stephen had erected, and after he had made a ſucceſsful attack, which brought him very nigh to the foot of the rampart, the weather being hot, and thinking himſelf ſecure from any danger (as he was in the midſt of his own troops, and the enemy was retired within the caſtle walls) he took off his helmet, to breathe with more liberty. But he was obſerved by a foot-ſoldier belonging to the garriſon, who, ſhooting an arrow, from a loop-hole of the caſtle, againſt his bare head, gave him a wound, that did not pierce, but razed the ſkull-bone. He thought lightly of it, and continued to attend the operations of the ſiege, till, by his neglect, it proved mortal. The manner of his death gave the clergy occaſion to impute it to an extraordinary judgment of God; becauſe he had been excommunicated on account of the ſacrileges, which he and his troops had committed. They availed themſelves alſo of ſome other like accidents, which happened to other barons, who, for the ſame offences, had incurred the ſame cenſures.

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cenſures. Indeed they greatly wanted the help of ſuch terrors, to preſerve them from the rapine and outrages of the ſoldiery; for the reſtraining of which, a decree had lately been made, in a legatine ſynod, which the biſhop of Wincheſter held at London in the preſence of Stephen, that whoſoever ſhould do any violence to an eccleſiaſtic ſhould not be abſolved, but by the pope himſelf, and not even by him, unleſs it were *in his preſence:* that is, all ſuch offenders were forced to go to Rome for a pardon. Thus did the clergy endeavour to defend their perſons and goods, by ſpiritual arms, and by the influence of popular ſuperſtitions, againſt the danger of the times, when all other means had proved ineffectual. And we are told, that it was of uſe to them. But a contemporary writer ſays, that greater barbarities were committed, by ſome of the biſhops themſelves, in oppreſſing their neighbours, and forcibly taking from them their money and effects, than by any of thoſe whom they threatened with divine vengeance. Moſt of them, according to the account of that author, but more particularly the biſhops of Wincheſter, Lincoln, and Cheſter, were frequently ſeen in arms, like the temporal barons, going out upon parties with an extraordinary oſtentation of military pomp, maroding, and pillaging the country all round their epiſcopal caſtles, and even taking for themſelves a ſhare of the plunder. If any perſon

H. Huntingd. ſub ann. 1144.

Geſt. Steph. Reg. p. 962.

perſon of condition fell into their hands, they immediately threw him into a dungeon, and, by the moſt horrible torments, extorted from him an immoderate ranſom. It is no wonder, that, from beholding ſuch examples in their paſtors, the people ſhould ſuppoſe, that religion and morality had little or no connexion, the one with the other, and that ſuch an opinion ſhould produce an univerſal depravity.

A. D. 1146. The military operations of the year eleven hundred and forty-five, after the death of the earl of Eſſex, produced no events conſiderable enough to be particularly dwelt upon here: but in the following ſpring there happened an action of very great importance. The earl of Gloceſter had built a ſtrong caſtle at Faringdon, to check the excurſions of the enemy's horſemen from the city of Oxford, and left a garriſon there, which was able to reſtrain, not only that of Oxford, but all the other which belonged to ſeveral caſtles, held for the king in thoſe parts, and ſtraitened them in ſuch a manner, as to make them apprehenſive of wanting ſubſiſtence; for moſt of them were nouriſhed by the plunder of the country, and many had no other pay. This Stephen found of ſo much prejudice to him, that he came, with all the beſt of his forces, to beſiege this troubleſome fort. But, leſt the earl of Gloceſter ſhould attempt to relieve it, he threw up

Geſt. Steph. Reg. p. 967. ad 969. Huntingdon, l. vii. ſub ann. 1146. Neubrigenſis, ſub eod. ann.

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lines, to ſecure his army; and then, making uſe of all the battering engines, that were known to the military art of thoſe times, he carried on his attacks with great alacrity and good conduct. The garriſon made a brave defence, and much blood was ſhed on both ſides: but, at length, the governor and the principal officers apprehending, that they might be ſeverely treated by Stephen, if the place ſhould, in the end, be taken by ſtorm, reſolved to capitulate; and, without the conſent or knowledge of the ſoldiers, who were deſirous to hold out much longer, opened the gates, and yielded themſelves, with their whole garriſon priſoners of war, upon no better conditions, than that the knights, or men at arms, ſhould be ſet free, upon paying their ranſom.

During the ſiege, the earl of Gloceſter had advanced to obſerve the king's entrenchments, with ſuch a body of troops as he could collect: but, finding them very ſtrong, he durſt not attack them, without a greater army; and, while he was drawing his friends together, which, from his confidence in the valour of the garriſon, he thought he had time to do, the place was ſurrendered. This was the worſt diſgrace that had ever befallen him: for, though his troops had been beaten, his officers never before had ſhewn any baſeneſs; and theſe were ſome in whom he had placed a ſpecial truſt. The reputation of the king was ſo increaſed, and his affairs were

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ſo mended, by the ſucceſs of his arms in this attempt, that Matilda's adherents began to think, her party could not poſſibly ſupport itſelf long: which opinion alone was ſufficient to undo her. A great deſertion from her immediately followed. Even ſome of thoſe friends, upon whoſe zeal and attachment ſhe believed that ſhe had reaſon to depend moſt ſecurely, forſook her now. The earl of Cheſter himſelf, her brother's ſon-in-law, on whom ſhe had conferred extraordinary obligations, and whoſe animoſity againſt Stephen had been, of late, more furious than ever, came to that prince as a ſuppliant; and expreſſing great ſorrow for what he had done to offend him, obtained his pardon.

Geſt. Steph. Reg. p. 964. 968, 969. Huntingd. et Neubrigenſ. ſub ann. 1145. 1146.

This was a mighty advantage to the king; for one third of the kingdom was actually in the power of that great earl, and ſome of his eſtates were ſo ſituated, that they broke and divided all which remained to Matilda. To prove his ſincerity, and merit the favor of the ſovereign he returned to, he attended on him in perſon, with three hundred knights, the flower of his vaſſals, at the ſiege of the town of Bedford; greatly aſſiſted him in taking that place, which had held out againſt him from the beginning of the war; and did him other good ſervices, ſuch as would have gained his affection and confidence, if affection and confidence could be given to one, who, unprovoked by any injury, changes his party, upon a decline of its fortune. Se-

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duced by his example, and by the general opinion of the ſuperiority which the king had now gained, even the younger ſon of the earl of Gloceſter went off from the empreſs, and having obtained good terms from Stephen, who paid him in proportion to the enormity of his treaſon, made war upon her as ſharply as the worſt of her enemies. He did not even reſpect his father's lands; but ravaged and laid them waſte, in a moſt barbarous manner; as if he deſired to diſtinguiſh his zeal for the ſervice of his new maſter, by a fury approaching to parricide: a ſhocking inſtance, how far, in thoſe execrable times, ambition and intereſt prevailed over all the ties of duty and nature! It happened ſoon aftewards, that Reginald earl of Cornwall, his father's half-brother, was ſent plenipotentiary from Matilda to Stephen, in order to treat of a peace between them; and, as he was on his journey, this young lord intercepted, and took him priſoner, with all his attendants. Stephen, who had given a ſafe conduct to the earl, was much offended, and inſtantly commanded him to be relcaſed: but it was not without difficulty, and after many repeated orders, that he was obeyed. As for the treaty, it ſoon broke off, without ſucceſs; Matilda demanding the kingdom from Stephen, and he refuſing to reſign the leaſt part of it to her, on any terms. Her demand was indeed extravagant in her preſent ſituation. For the death of the earl of

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſuprà.

Hereford, the ſhameful ſurrender of Faringdon caſtle, the loſs of Bedford, and above all, the defection of the earl of Cheſter, ſucceeded by that of the earl of Gloceſter's own ſon, had greatly weakened her party. It ſeemed on all ſides, to be breaking and falling to ruin. The earl of Gloceſter alone remained immoveably fixed on the firm baſis of virtue, amidſt the ſhocks of this revolution. The more ſtrongly Stephen's power and fortune prevailed, the more courageouſly did his great ſpirit oppoſe itſelf to them, and endeavour to ſupply, by its own ſingle force, all that the levity and perfidy of his friends, or the diſaſtrous events of war, had taken from Matilda. As no intereſted complaiſance could ever induce him to flatter her paſſions, ſo neither could any proſpect of advantage entice, nor any reſentment provoke him, to abandon her ſervice. He ſaw her diſregard and reject his good counſels; he ſaw her deſtroy, by her inſolence and perverſeneſs, the advantages he had gained for her, and the wiſe ſchemes he had formed to eſtabliſh her power; yet he continued to ſupport her, correcting by his prudence the effects of her folly, and oppoſing by his courage the dangers ſhe brought upon herſelf and her friends. But, with all his abilities, he could not reſtore to her the affection of the public; and *that* being gone, there remained no principle in the party, of force ſufficient to keep them long together, againſt the im-

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pulſe of fear and intereſt, which urged them to quit her ſinking cauſe. Nor could Stephen have failed of recovering the whole kingdom, if he had known how to uſe his good fortune.

Gerv. Chron. ſub ann. 1146.

When the earl of Anjou was appriſed of theſe events in England, he felt a paternal anxiety for Henry, his ſon; apprehending danger to him, both from the prevailing arms of Stephen, and from the treachery of his own adherents. On this account, and becauſe he much deſired to ſee him, after an abſence that had laſted four years, he ſent to the earl of Gloceſter, and earneſtly begged of him, that the prince, who then was at Briſtol, might come over to Normandy; promiſing that, in caſe it ſhould be found neceſſary, he would, when his affection had been indulged with the ſight of him, allow him ſoon to return. The earl of Gloceſter, though unwilling to comply with this requeſt, ſubmitted to it, and conducted his nephew to Wareham, who embarking there had a proſperous voyage to Normandy: but they parted to meet no more: for, at the beginning of November, in the year eleven hundred and

A. D. 1146.

forty-ſix, the earl died of a fever, occaſioned, perhaps, by grief at the treaſon of his ſon, and the bad ſtate in which he ſaw his ſiſter's affairs. Of all the misfortunes that lately had affiicted and depreſſed her, the loſs of him was the greateſt. He was unqueſtionably the

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the wiſeſt man of thoſe times; and his virtue was ſuch, that even thoſe times could not corrupt it. If, when the nation was grown equally tired of Matilda and of Stephen, he had aſpired to obtain the crown for himſelf, he might very poſſibly have gained it from them both: but he thought it leſs glorious to be a king, than to preſerve his fidelity and honor inviolate. He ſeems to have acted only from the pureſt and nobleſt principles of juſtice and duty, without pride, without paſſion, without any private views, or ſelfiſh ambition: and to this admirable temper of mind he joined all the addreſs and extenſive abilities, that are particularly neceſſary for *the head of a party*, who muſt connect and keep together great numbers of independent perſons, held by no regular bond of obedience; conciliate their different paſſions and intereſts, endure their abſurdities, ſooth their ill humour, manage their pride, and eſtabliſh an abſolute authority over them, without ſeeming to exerciſe any, but that of perſuaſion. This, at all times, is a very difficult taſk, and was more eſpecially ſo to the earl of Gloceſter; every nobleman, who joined with Matilda, thinking himſelf a confederate, rather than a ſubject; and ſhe regarding herſelf as a ſovevereign, whom even her brother was obliged implicitly to obey, without ever preſuming to diſpute her commands. But, when he was dead, ſhe quickly found, that her power

V. Joh. Sariſbur. epiſt. ad epiſcop. Wigorn.

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was neither ſufficient to govern her party, nor to reſiſt that of Stephen. There was nothing but confuſion, diſtruſt, and diſmay, in her court, and in her council. Her army wanted a general, and ſhe could find none of abilities equal to the command of it, or whoſe authority the other barons were willing to ſubmit to. If the earl of Anjou, her huſband, had thought it adviſeable to come into England, with a ſtrong army of Angevins and of Normans, and boldly put himſelf at the head of her party, he might, perhaps, have given a new ſpirit to it. This, one would think, he ſhould have done, at ſuch a juncture of time, if not for her ſake, yet out of regard to his ſon, whoſe ſucceſſion might be defeated by her expulſion. He had lately ſuppreſſed a revolt in Anjou, and was entirely maſter of Normandy: but either he believed that the tranquillity of thoſe countries was yet too unſettled, to permit him to withdraw his forces from thence, and tranſport them to England; or he was ſtopped by the difficulty of deciding what rank he ſhould hold in this kingdom. Matilda therefore had no reſource, which could ſupply the loſs of the earl of Gloceſter. Courage and reſentment ſtill combated in her heart with deſpair: nor was it without the greateſt and moſt painful reluctance, that ſhe gave way to the neceſſity of leaving a country, over which ſhe had ſo long expected to reign. But, in leſs than four months after the

Gerv. Chron. ſub ann. 1146.

the death of her brother, ſeeing no poſſibility of ſupporting her party, and fearing to fall into the hands of her enemy, ſhe was conſtrained to abandon England, and go into Normandy, to live with a huſband whom ſhe never had loved, and who did not love her, but was generous or prudent enough to receive her with kindneſs, in this decline of her fortune, when her pride was humbled by her ſorrow. Nevertheleſs he retained to himſelf the dominion of that dutchy, as he had held it in her abſence; that is, without any dependence upon her. Inſtead of ſubmitting to this, ſhe would perhaps have ſtaid in England, and buried herſelf under the ruins of her own greatneſs, if the anguiſh of her mind had not been ſoothed by the hope, that Prince Henry, her ſon, might, when he ſhould attain to an age of maturity, be able to revenge her on Stephen, and recover the crown which ſhe had loſt. Her whole care was therefore employed upon his education. She laboured to inſpire him with thoughts as high as her own; to give him an ardor for glory, an ambition for empire, and a ſpirit of conqueſt. His genius was very ſuitable to ſuch inſtructions; but the fire he drew from her was happily tempered with the leſſons of prudence and humanity, which he had been taught in England by his uncle; and which his father, a prince of great diſcretion and judgment, continued to fix in his mind.

The death of the earl of Gloceſter, and the retreat of Matilda, would have given Stephen a quiet poſſeſſion of England, at leaſt till Henry could have been capable of diſputing it with him, if he had kept the earl of Cheſter his friend. But he loſt him, as he, before, had loſt the earl of Eſſex; by jealous ſuſpicions, and violent proceedings in conſequence of thoſe ſuſpicions.

Geſt. Step. Reg. 968. 970, 971.

It has already been told, with how much ardor and forwardneſs this lord had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his ſervice, after their reconciliation; and this year he gave him a new teſtimony of his zeal, by aſſiſting him in an operation of very great moment, the building of a fort, to block up the caſtle of Wallingford, which did him more hurt than any other yet remaining in the hands of his enemies. That work being accompliſhed, a great council was held by Stephen in the town of Northampton. The meeting was much fuller than any had been for ſome years; and, the power of the crown appearing to be now in a good meaſure recovered, the earl of Cheſter very properly took this opportunity to make his complaints, that his county had ſuffered grievouſly, by the incurſions and ravages of the Welſh on the borders; againſt whom he entreated the aſſiſtance of the crown, and ſtrongly preſſed the king to go thither in perſon, as the moſt effectual meaſure to ſtrike a terror into that people.

people. In order to remove the objections, which he feared would be made, on account of the charge that ſuch an expedition would bring upon the king, whoſe coffers were empty, he declared, that he himſelf would pay all the forces, and furniſh them with all neceſſaries at his own coſt. Stephen at firſt inclined to grant this requeſt; and undoubtedly his own honor was much concerned, to ſtop theſe incurſions made by the Welſh into the provinces belonging to England, and confine them to their own limits. He had been forced, for many years, during the heat of the civil war, to neglect the defence of his Engliſh ſubjects in Wales and the bordering counties; and had ſuffered greatly from thoſe Welſh, whom the earl of Gloceſter had led even into the heart of his kingdom. But now, when his other enemies were almoſt ſubdued, it highly became him to think of repreſſing thoſe inſults, and endeavour to recover his own reputation, which was ſunk by ſuch a long and tame acquieſcence. He therefore promiſed the earl of Cheſter to march to his aid; and nothing was ſaid againſt it in the great council: but in private all his favorites oppoſed that intention, repreſenting to him the danger of engaging his troops, and riſquing his perſon, in the woods and mountains of Wales, where he would certainly be attacked by ambuſhes laid for him in every paſs; beſides the great difficulty of finding proviſions for his army, and

and what they ſuppoſed ſtill more hazardous, the indiſcretion of putting himſelf in the power of a man, who had ſo long rebelled againſt him, and whoſe fidelity now ſeemed very doubtful, as he had not given any hoſtages, nor even reſtored the royal caſtle of Lincoln, and other poſſeſſions uſurped by him, or unduly gained, from the crown. Of theſe they adviſed the king to demand immediate reſtitution, and alſo ſuch other pledges, as might be ſufficient to ſecure him againſt the perfidy of the earl: adding, that, if the earl refuſed to give them, he ought to be treated, not as a friend, but a traitor, and thrown into priſon, to force him to a compliance.

This was ſtrange counſel, and ſuch, indeed, as could come from none but thoſe miniſters, who had occaſioned the revolt of the beſt part of the nation, by the arbitrary meaſures, in which they had engaged or encouraged their maſter. Whether it was adviſeable for him to conſent at that time, to the earl of Cheſter's deſire, was a diſputable queſtion; and reaſons of prudence might induce him to decline it: but, as the ſurrender of Lincoln caſtle and other demeſnes of the crown, which the earl enjoyed as his own, under the title of former grants, had not been required of him in the late reconciliation between him and Stephen, there was no colour of juſtice to aſk it of him now, much leſs to extort it from him by violence.

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It does not appear that he had done any act, to make him reaſonably ſuſpected of treaſon; and if an *unwarranted ſuſpicion* could juſtify ſuch a proceeding, a tyrant would always be juſtified; for he may always *ſuſpect* when he deſires to *oppreſs*. The iniquity of it appeared too glaring even to Stephen himſelf; or at leaſt he apprehended ill conſequences from it; for, at firſt, he expreſſed a great unwillingneſs to conſent to it: but his eager deſire of recovering Lincoln caſtle, which he had vainly endeavoured to take by force, gave ſo much weight to the arguments of thoſe who incited him to this act of oppreſſion, that he permitted them to put their advice in immediate execution. They went directly to the earl, whom they found in the court not ſuſpicious of any unfriendly intention againſt him, and informed him of all the king's demands. He replied, with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, that it was not for this he had come to attend his ſovereign in the great council; that he had not received any notice of ſuch demands, nor conſulted his friends what anſwer he ought to make: upon which ſome of them began to revile and accuſe him of treaſonable deſigns; and, ſoon proceeding from words to deeds, arreſted and committed him to the king's ſoldiers there preſent, who threw him into a dungeon, loaded with irons. When the news of his being treated in ſo ignominious a manner was carried to his vaſſals, they were

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſupra.

Geſt. Steph. Reg. p. 971, ad 973. H. Huntingd. et Ger. Chron. ſub ann. 1147.

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were filled with indignation, and the much greater part of them would have taken up arms, to force the king to ſet him free. But others, who were more prudent, reſtrained their impetuoſity, out of a juſt apprehenſion of danger to his life; and adviſed him to yield what the king had required of him, that he might recover his liberty and with it the ability of being revenged. He did ſo, and was releaſed; but not without giving hoſtages, and an oath to the king, that he would not make war againſt him. Theſe ſecurities were ineffectual. The firſt act of the earl, after his hands were unfettered, was to attack that monarch with great fury. He conſidered his oath as conſtrained, and therefore void; or, being hardened to perjury by the mode of the times, paid no regard to it: nor was he ſtopped by a concern for the hoſtages he had given, thinking that, as they were perſons, on whoſe friendſhip the king had reaſon to ſet a high value, they would have nothing to fear from his reſentment. Several times he fought with Stephen, defeated and wounded him in one engagement; nor, when beaten, was he ſubdued; his vaſſals being ſo numerous, his caſtles ſo ſtrong, and his power ſo diffuſed, that, if he was driven away from one part of the kingdom, he preſently appeared with new force in another. The king indeed, upon his violating the oath he had taken, had impriſoned his nephew, Gilbert de Clare, earl of Hertford,

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Hertford, who was one of his hoſtages: and would not ſet him free, till he had given up all his caſtles, as a fine to the crown for the offence of his uncle: but by this he made him a bitter enemy, inſtead of a faithful and affectionate ſervant, as he had hitherto been. Nor did he loſe him alone: for the earl of Pembroke deſiring to have theſe caſtles, to which, by his relation in blood to the earl of Hertford, his brother's ſon, he had a natural claim, and being repulſed in his ſuit, was ſo diſguſted, that he alſo reſolved to join the earl of Cheſter, or was ſuſpected of ſuch a purpoſe, upon his having ſecretly left the court. Stephen, to whoſe mind ſuſpicion was proof, immediately followed him, with all the troops he had ready; and coming upon him unexpectedly, before he could reach the neareſt of his caſtles, would have taken him priſoner, if he had not eſcaped, as ſoon as he ſaw the royal army appear, by changing his habit, and flying in diſguiſe.

V. auctores citat. ut ſupra.

Thus was the great and powerful houſe of Clare, which, through the whole civil war, had ever been remarkably zealous for the king, alienated from him, and driven to his enemies, together with the earl of Cheſter; an unexpected reinforcement, which reſtored their dejected ſpirits and courage, juſt at the time when they were ſinking into peace and ſubmiſſion.

Nothing

Nothing indeed could be more prejudicial to all his own intereſts, than the part which Stephen took with regard to that nobleman. The deſertion from Matilda, begun by him, would probably, on the retreat of that princeſs from England, have been followed by all the principal lords of her party, as faſt as they could make their agreements with the king, and a general act of oblivion would have certainly brought in the reſt, if he had ſhewn a diſpoſition to keep his faith ſincerely with thoſe who ſubmitted. For, as there remained no longer in the party any affection for Matilda, and her ſon was too young to have excited in them ſuch ſentiments, as produced a fixed attachment, nothing but fear and diſtruct of Stephen could withhold them from ſeeking to be reconciled to him, and forſaking a ſovereign, from whom they had now no reaſon to expect either reward or protection. But when they ſaw, by the evidence of ſo great an example, how dangerous it would be to put any confidence in the king's pardon; and that no ſervices, done him upon a reconciliation, could ſecure their poſſeſſions againſt his claims, or the liberty of their perſons againſt his ſuſpicions, deſpair held them together, and forced them to keep up a head of rebellion, without much regarding for what prince they contended.

This was the ſtate of the war in England till the year eleven hundred and forty nine.

But,

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But, during the courſe of ſeven or eight years preceding that period, ſome changes had happened in the affairs of the church, which in themſelves are worth attention, and in their conſequences were very important.

From the time that the biſhop of Wincheſter had abandoned Matilda, his being inveſted, as legate, with the authority of the pope, was of no ſmall advantage to Stephen: for while he enjoyed that authority, it kept the church of England dependent on him, and, by his mediation, on his brother. But it was grievous to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who ſaw himſelf ſubjected to one of his ſuffragans. As Innocent the Second, who had given this legation to the biſhop of Wincheſter, would not revoke it, the archbiſhop was compelled, however reluctant, to ſubmit to the power of it; and, what was ſtill harder, to the inſolent uſe which the biſhop made of that power, on purpoſe to mortify him, as long as that pontiff continued in the chair. But Celeſtine the Second ſucceeding to the papacy in the year eleven hundred and forty three, and being a friend of the Angevin family, under whoſe patronage he had been educated, abſolutely refuſed to renew the biſhop's commiſſion, and liſtened very eagerly to many accuſations which the empreſs Matilda and the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſent to Rome againſt him. This was a terrible blow to the party of

V. S. Dunel. hiſt. contin. per Joh. Prior. Haguſtald. ſub ann. 1144. 1146. Gerv. act. pontif. Cantuar. p. 1665. et Chron. p. 1360.

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of Stephen; and though Celeſtine died ſoon afterwards, and he found diſpoſitions more favorable to him in Lucius the Second, yet he could not obtain from that pontiff a renewal of his brother's commiſſion. Eugenius the Third, who ſucceeded to Lucius in the year eleven hundred and forty-five, became ſoon afterwards very hoſtile both to the king and the prelate. The firſt cauſe of this enmity was a diſpute that aroſe about the election of an archbiſhop of York. William, the treaſurer of that church, had been elected in the year eleven hundred and forty-two. He was a man of very noble blood, being nearly related to Roger, king of Sicily; and, though educated in the court of King Henry the Firſt, and in the luxury of an opulent family, was ſo eminent for his piety, that, after his deceaſe, he was ſainted by Rome. The biſhop of Wincheſter, though their characters did not ſympathiſe well, had a great friendſhip for him, and ſo had the earl of Albemarle; but the zeal ſhewn by the latter to promote his election gave a pretence to diſpute it, as having been procured by the royal authority, through the intervention of that earl, who was the chief miniſter of the king in thoſe parts. William was alſo accuſed of having bought the majority of votes in the chapter. The party againſt him appealed to Rome; and the church of England was now in ſuch a ſtate of ſubjection to that foreign ſee, that no oppoſition

V. S. Dunel. hiſt. contin. per J. Prior. Hagust. ab ann. 1142 ad 1148.

oppoſition was made, on the part of the king, to this appeal, though undoubtedly contrary to the ancient conſtitution and laws of the kingdom. Among the appellants were the abbots of Rivaux and Fountain abbeys, who, being particular friends of Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, and knowing the great credit he had with the pope, deſired to engage him in this affair, and ſucceeded ſo well, that he wrote letters to Innocent, with much acrimony, againſt William, who was obliged to go to Rome and plead his cauſe there. Of the ſimony, which he was charged with, no kind of proof was given by his adverſaries: but they principally reſted their cauſe on this point, that the earl of Albemarle had brought the chapter a mandate from the king to have him elected. Innocent would not himſelf determine that queſtion upon a matter of fact; but ſent him back into England, with orders to his legate, the biſhop of Wincheſter, that, provided the dean of York, to whoſe teſtimony William particularly appealed, or any other credible perſon, would ſwear, that the earl did not bring a royal mandate to elect him, he then might be conſecrated, if he would himſelf take an oath, that he had not given money for the obtaining of his dignity. Accordingly, ſoon after his return into England, he appeared before a legatine council at Wincheſter, held by the biſhop. The dean of York, having been lately made biſhop of Durham, was

V. Bernard, epiſt. 346, 347.

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diſabled from attending it, by ſome diſturbances, which troubled his dioceſe; but the biſhop of the Orcades, the abbot of York, and the abbot of Whiteby, took the oath required by the pope, in his ſtead; and William took that, which was demanded from him, as a proof of his innocence with regard to the bribery laid to his charge: whereupon he was conſecrated there by the legate, no man appearing to accuſe or oppoſe him in any manner; and the people expreſſing a great deſire to have him for their archbiſhop. But, Innocent being dead, Bernard applied to his ſucceſſor Celeſtine, whoſe inclination to mortify the houſe of Blois he well knew, and wrote a latter to him againſt the archbiſhop, ſtill more furious than thoſe he had written to Innocent, calling that reſpectable prelate *a filthy and infamous perſon*, with other very outrageous terms of reproach. The whole foundation that appears in theſe letters for ſo much abuſe is only a ſuggeſtion, that the biſhop of Durham had ſtaid away from the council of Wincheſter becauſe he was afraid to take a falſe oath; from whence Bernard inferred, that the archbiſhop's election had not been canonical, and that the oaths of the three prelates, who ſwore in behalf of him, deſerved no regard. The paſſions of Celeſtine concurring with his, he ſo far prevailed, that William could not obtain his pall from that pontiff: but this perſecution of him was ſtopt by Celeſtine's death; and

V. Bernard. epiſt. 235.

Lucius, the next pope, ſent him the pall by his legate, Cardinal Hicmar. He would now have been fixed in his metropolitan ſee without oppoſition, if, from an indolence natural to a mind abſorbed in devotion, he had not neglected to go to London and receive his pall from the legate, till Lucius died; which event entirely changed the ſtate of his fortune: for a new appeal being made by his adverſaries, againſt his election, to Eugenius the Third, Hicmar thought himſelf obliged to carry the pall back with him to Rome. Eugenius, who had been a diſciple of Bernard, ſeemed to regard him ſtill as his maſter and ſpiritual father; ſo great was the deference which he paid to his judgment in all affairs! Of this Bernard himſelf was ſo ſenſible and ſo vain, that, in a letter he wrote to him concerning the buſineſs of the archbiſhop of York, he could not forbear to boaſt of it in the following words: *It is ſaid that not you, but I, am pope, and thoſe that have buſineſs with the ſee of Rome come to me from all parts of the world.* It was very true, that they did ſo; and all the influence he had gained over the mind of that pontiff was now exerted againſt the archbiſhop, whom he had hitherto attacked to no purpoſe. He called on his Holineſs, as ſucceſſor of St. Peter, to deſtroy this *Ananias*, this *Simon Magus*. And in a ſubſequent letter he renewed the aſſault with ſtill greater violence, confidently aſſerting,

V. Bernard, epiſt. 239.

V. epiſt. 249.

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that the biſhop of Durham, whoſe oath had been required to purge the archbiſhop of York of the accuſation brought againſt him, as having been intruded into his ſee by the royal authority, had ſince confirmed it, by a letter to the legate, whom Pope Lucius the Second had ſent into England. But, leſt Eugenius ſhould not think this teſtimony ſufficient to condemn the archbiſhop, as three other clergymen, of eminent dignity and very good characters, had ſworn to the contrary, he added, *that common fame had reported ſuch things of him, as would be reaſons not only for depoſing a biſhop, but for degrading a ſoldier.* By what means theſe accuſations, if they were calumnious, are to be reconciled with the piety of St. Bernard, or, if they were true, with the piety of St. William, the church which prays to them both would do wiſely to conſider. Certainly, the great rancour with which they were urged, and ſome of them (as Bernard himſelf acknowledged) on no better grounds than *common fame*, or rather on the report of the archbiſhop's enemies, ſhews in that abbot a temper unbecoming a good man and a Chriſtian. All his proceedings in this affair ſeem to have been inſtigated by a ſpirit of cabal, and a partial affection for his own order, to which the adverſaries of William belonged. But Eugenius relied ſo much on his ſentiments, and was alſo ſo moved by the perſuaſions of another Ciſtercian monk, Henry Murdac, who

Gerv. Chron. ſub ann. 1167

who engaged with a bitter zeal againſt the archbiſhop, that he refuſed to give the pall to that prelate, though the whole conſiſtory was on his ſide. How far he himſelf may be ſuppoſed to have been biaſſed by a regard for the order, in the honor of which (as he had belonged to it) he might imagine that his own was partly concerned, I ſhall not determine: but undoubtedly he acted with great partiality. Preſently after this time, he came into France, and called a council at Rheims, to which he ſummoned all the French and Engliſh biſhops. But Stephen, extremely offended at his conduct, both on the account of the archbiſhop of York, and of the biſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe commiſſion he refuſed to renew, ſhewed a proper reſentment, by abſolutely forbidding the biſhops of England to go out of the realm, and in particular the archbiſhop of Canterbury, whom he chiefly ſuſpected of intriguing with the pope to his prejudice. That prelate, having ineffectually deſired his permiſſion, reſolved to go without it, and finding the ports ſo ſtrictly guarded, that he was unable to procure any ſhip for his paſſage, put to ſea, from ſome of the open parts of the coaſt, in a ſmall crazy boat; and ſo, with much difficulty and hazard of his life, paſt over to France. When he took his ſeat in the council, Eugenius made a high panegyrick upon him, *for having*, as his Holineſs was pleaſed to expreſs it, *ſwum rather than*

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ſailed from England to France, out of the reverence and obedience he paid to St. Peter and to the orders of Rome. The other Engliſh biſhops obeyed the king and the laws of their country: for which they were put, by the authority of the pope, under ſpiritual cenſures. So ſtrong was the conflict between the eccleſiaſtical and civil juriſdictions!

Gerv. ibid. col. 1365.

In this council Pope Eugenius determined the cauſe of the archbiſhop of York, or rather, he there pronounced that ſentence againſt him, which he had before reſolved to paſs. The good prelate, finding his Holineſs ill affected towards him, and having a mind that hated contention, had left the court of Rome, and gone into Sicily, where he now lived retired, under the amicable protection of the king, his relation. Eugenius thought proper to judge him during his abſence, and on the ſole teſtimony of his accuſers, the chief of whom was Henry Murdac. All the accuſations brought againſt him, except the intervention of the royal authority in his election, were now let drop; which is a ſtrong proof of his innocence with reſpect to the aſperſions thrown upon him by Bernard. His life and manners, undoubtedly, were moſt ſeverely examined, and if any objection could have been made to them, the council would have heard of it, as well as Eugenius, from that eloquent abbot: but to accuſe him in publick was a more difficult and hazardous matter than to

St. Dunelm. hiſt. contin. per J. Prior. Hagustald. ſub ann. 1147.

defame

defame him in a private letter. Yet, clear as he was of all the ſtains, which malice and ſlander had endeavoured to fix on his character, the biſhop of Oſtia, *by the apoſtolick authority*, that is, in the name of the pope, not of the council, pronounced, *that he ſhould be depoſed from his ſee, becauſe Stephen, king of England, had nominated him to it before a canonical election*. In vain did a majority of the cardinals in the council remonſtrate to the pope, that a perſon of his high rank and good reputation ought not to be thus condemned unheard. In vain did Abbot Suger, in a very ſenſible ſpeech, declare, that, even admitting the charge againſt him, it could not juſtly be made a reaſon to annul his election; *becauſe kings had a right to point out to the chapters thoſe ſubjects who would be moſt agreeable to them*. His doctrine was not agreeable to the pope; and councils then were the mere tools of the papal authority. Nor did Eugenius judge wrong, according to the political maxims of Rome, in ſeizing the opportunity of a weak reign in England, to eſtabliſh a precedent for ſubverting the rights of all princes, and taking from them even the liberty of *recommendation* in the election of biſhops. All oppoſition was therefore fruitleſs; and William being depoſed, the chapter of York, *upon the pope's mandate*, proceeded to elect another archbiſhop, without conſulting the king, who ſeemed to be alſo depoſed from his dignity and royal prerogatives.

Vide Suger, l. vi. Fleuri, hiſtoire eccleſiaſtique, l. lxix.

Gerv. Chron. ſub ann. 1147. Neubrig. l. i. c. 17.

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rogatives. The majority of the chapter choſe Hilary biſhop of Chicheſter: but a faction among them having voted for Henry Murdac, abbot of Fountain, a double return was made to Eugenius: whereupon that pontiff confirmed the election of Murdac, his favorite, and immediately conſecrated him with his own hands. So flagrantly were the rights both of the clergy and crown of England violated by the pope, who made himſelf the ſole maſter of this election, in a manner abſolutely unknown before to our church, and which is ſpoken of with diſguſt, even by ſome of the monks who wrote in thoſe days. The depoſed archbiſhop, when he knew the ſentence paſſed againſt him, returned into England, and retired to the houſe of his friend the biſhop of Wincheſter; where he employed all his time in the practice of devotion, without the leaſt murmur, or complaint of the injury done him; without either ſaying himſelf, or caring to hear, a reproachful word ſaid of thoſe, from whom he had ſuffered this iniquitous perſecution. But the prelate, whoſe gueſt he was, ſtill continued to treat him as archbiſhop of York, regarding no further the authority of the ſovereign pontiff, than as it concurred with his own purpoſes. Under his roof William reſided till the year eleven hundred and fifty-four, when fortune changed in his favor. For his three principal enemies, Eugenius, Bernard, and Henry Murdac having all died

Gerv. ibid. J. Prior Haguſtald. ſub ann. 1148. Neubrigenſ. l. i. c. 17.

J. Haguſtald. ſub ann. 1154. Gervaſe, ſub ann. 1153, 1154. Neubrigenſ. l. i. c. 26.

the

the year before, and Pope Anaſtaſius, who ſucceeded to Eugenius, being his friend, he obtained his pall. Yet his enjoyment of a dignity, purchaſed with ſo much trouble, was not of a long continuance: he died ſoon afterwards, and is ſaid by ſome writers to have been murdered by poiſon in the ſacramental wine: but William of Newbury, upon a careful enquiry into the fact, aſſures us that the report of it was founded on nothing but ſlight and uncertain ſuſpicions.

While the archbiſhop of Canterbury remained in France with Eugenius the Third, they entered into great confidence and cloſeneſs of counſels, not only on eccleſiaſtical, but on civil affairs. They both hated Stephen, who, by ſupporting his brother in his application to Rome for a renewal of his legatine power in England, had grievouſly offended the primate; and, by patronizing William archbiſhop of York, had no leſs angered the pope. They agreed, therefore, to aſſiſt Prince Henry Plantagenet, when time ſhould ſerve; and took meaſures together, which proved afterwards of great advantage to him, and were the ſecret ſprings of ſome very important tranſactions.

Yet it does not appear that the archbiſhop of Canterbury obtained at this time the legatine dignity. The biſhop of Wincheſter, indeed, had been deprived of it by Celeſtine the Second, and could not get it renewed by Lucius, his ſucceſſor, or by Eugenius: but I do

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V. Gerv. Chron. Huntind. et Hoveden. ſub ann. 1151. et præcedentibus.

I do not find Theobald ever ſtyled the pope's legate till the year eleven hundred and fifty-one. The council of Rheims being ended, he returned into England, confiding in the power of the pope to protect him againſt the reſentment of his ſovereign, whoſe command he had ſlighted, and the laws of the kingdom, which he ſo contumaciouſly had preſumed to infringe. But, upon his arrival at Canterbury, Stephen immediately went thither from London, and ſent him ſuch angry meſſages, without deigning to ſee him, that, not thinking it ſafe to continue longer in England, he returned back to France. The queen and William of Ipres endeavoured to mediate a reconciliation; and, that he might be nearer to England, perſuaded him to come to St. Omer's; where he remained for ſome time, expecting the event of their interceſſions. Several biſhops and abbots were ſent to confer with him; but, as neither he, nor his ſovereign, could be induced to ſubmit, the one to the other, all expedients to make them friends were found ineffectual. At laſt, the obſtinate prelate, exaſperated at being detained ſo long from his ſee, ſent over to England letters of interdict, wherein a day was fixed, before which if he had not permiſſion to return, they were to take place againſt all that part of the realm, which was in obedience to Stephen. Theſe were the firſt of this nature to which England had been ever ſubjected; and they were, there-

Gerv. Chron. ſub ann. 1157. et Act. pontif. Cantuar. in vit. Theobald.

fore,

ſore, much more terrible to the minds of the Engliſh. The king had ſeized the archbiſhop's temporalities, upon his going out of the kingdom, and being in great want of money, oppreſſed his tenants, by exacting from them their rents before the uſual time. When that prelate was informed of theſe proceedings, he took ſhipping at Gravelines, and landed in Suffolk, at a port belonging to Hugh Bigot; who, being in arms againſt Stephen, received him with great honors. At the term he had fixed he ſolemnly publiſhed the interdict; which deeply affected the people, who ſaw divine ſervice performed in thoſe countries that acknowledged Matilda, and not in thoſe that obeyed the king. The conſequences of this intimidated the latter, who ſhould either have foreſeen or deſpiſed them: but, as he uſually acted, he began with ſpirit, and concluded with meanneſs. The biſhops of London, Norwich, Chicheſter, and ſeveral temporal lords, were now employed by him to try to perſuade the archbiſhop to take off the interdict; which they could not, by any arguments, prevail upon him to do, till he was brought back in triumph to his metropolitan ſee, by thoſe nobles and prelates themſelves. A fatal precedent, which gave a moſt grievous and incurable wound to the royal authority!

The ſpirits of the party againſt the king were much raiſed by the hopes, they now conceived, of once more gaining the church

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to their ſide. Many circumſtances concurred to inſpire thoſe hopes. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, by the favor of Eugenius, was, become ſo ſuperior to the biſhop of Wincheſter, that the dominion, which hitherto had been aſſumed by the latter over the clergy of England, was in a great meaſure loſt. That the pope and Stephen were on ill terms was publickly known; and, though the archbiſhop in appearance was reconciled to the king, their real enmity was no ſecret to men of any ſagacity. There is great reaſon to believe, that, at this very time, the archbiſhop was combined with the earl of Norfolk and other nobles, in carrying on a negociation for inviting Henry Plantagenet to come again into England; which took effect in the year eleven hundred and forty-nine. Determined as the enemies of Stephen were now, after the uſage he had given to the earl of Cheſter, not to ſubmit to the tyranny of his government, they were no leſs reſolved not to ſubject themſelves and their country to the pride of Matilda: nor were they diſpoſed to give the crown to the earl of Anjou, whom they always conſidered as a ſtranger to England, married to the daughter of their king without their conſent. The only object of deſire to them and the nation was Prince Henry, his eldeſt ſon, who, having done nothing to alienate their affections, was unqueſtionably entitled to their allegiance, by every reaſon of juſtice and policy,

Gerv. Chron. ſubann. 1149.

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as well as the oaths which they had formerly taken to maintain his ſucceſſion. Indeed the pretenſions of Matilda might have ſtood in bar to his claim, till after her death; and he might have been greatly embarraſſed, either to ſet them aſide, againſt her will, or to ſupport them, againſt that of the nation: but, in the preſent ſtate of things, ſhe had the good ſenſe to depart from them herſelf; being convinced that it would be impoſſible to overcome the diſlike which ſhe diſcerned in the Engliſh; and not deſiring to prevent her ſon from being a king, that ſhe might retain the name of queen. A fondneſs for him was become her ruling paſſion, and ſhe ſacrificed to it that pride, which never would bend to her intereſt.

He was now ſixteen years old, and began to diſcover a manly vigour of body and mind; ſo that he ſeemed to be capable of heading his party; and they earneſtly demanded his preſence in England, thinking and declaring, that, the earl of Gloceſter being dead, he was the only leader, under whom they could act with any ſpirit or union. The king of Scotland, after having made his eſcape out of Wincheſter, had taken poſſeſſion of the three counties adjacent to his kingdom, not in his own name, but as in cuſtody for Matilda and Henry her ſon. The inhabitants of thoſe counties were glad to be under his government; for he was ſo careful to protect them, that they ſuffered

J. P. Haguſt. ſub ann. 1150. Gerv. Chron. ſub ann. 1149.

V. Neubrig. l. i. c. 22.

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ſuffered much leſs from the miſeries of the times than any other parts of England. Nor could Stephen drive him out of them; being too much employed in the more ſouthern provinces, to carry his arms ſo far north. A kind of truce had thus continued for ſome time between them; David being ſatisfied with ſecuring thoſe counties. But he now was willing to take a more active part, if Henry Plantagenet would yield them to him and his heirs, free of homage to the crown of England. The propoſal was not very dangerous: but as, by making an offenſive war againſt Stephen, he might expoſe his own kingdom to ſome danger, policy ſeemed to require that he ſhould exact a recompence for it; and though he was a prince of great generoſity, he ſeldom allowed it to go beyond his diſcretion. Whether he explained himſelf on this article before Henry came to him, our ancient authors are ſilent. Certain it is, that he invited him over with a promiſe of aid; and a great plan of operations was formed, in concert perhaps with the pope, through the channel of the archbiſhop of Canterbury: upon which the earl of Anjou and Matilda were perſuaded to ſend their ſon into England, with a good body of choſen forces, both horſe and foot. He landed ſafely, we are not told in what harbour, but, as I conjecture, at Wareham; which was now in the poſſeſſion of the young earl of Gloceſter, who, not infected with

J. Haguſtald. ſub ann. 1150. Gerv. Chron. et Huntingd. ſub ann. 1149. viz. 14 Steph.

with the perfidy of his brother, remained faithful to the cauſe that his father had maintained with ſuch inflexible conſtancy. From thence Henry marched into ſome of the weſtern counties, being joined by the earl of Cheſter, and Roger earl of Hereford, with ſeveral other barons of note in thoſe parts, at whoſe requeſt he had come over, and who ſeemed to be greatly animated by his arrival. But they did not think it adviſeable to make any attempts againſt Stephen in England, till they ſhould act in conjunction with the Scotch: their principal confidence being in the aid that David had promiſed, without which, in their preſent circumſtances, they had no hopes of ſucceſs. To him therefore they went, and found him at the head of an army, in the town of Carliſle. Henry was received by him with a tender affection. The maturity of his underſtanding, and a magnanimity that appeared in all his deportment, drew the admiration of the Scotch, who were the more diſpoſed to admire him, on account of the Scotch blood he had in his veins, derived to him from his grandmother, Matilda the Good. During the Whitſuntide feſtivals, kept by David at Carliſle with extraordinary pomp, that monarch conferred on Henry the honor of knighthood, which the mode of thoſe times made neceſſary for princes, as ſoon as they were capable of bearing arms. But, before he did this, he required him to take

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take an oath, never to reſume, from him, or his heirs, any part of the three counties, which he had obtained poſſeſſion of, during the troubles in England.

V. Neubrig. l. i. c. 22. l. ii. c. 4.

If no intimations had been given to Henry of this demand before he came over, it was a ſurpriſe upon him, and, conſidering his youth and the place he was in, a very unfair one. No hiſtorian, who lived in that age, has ſaid that it was authoriſed by Matilda. In whatever manner it was made, Henry did not think it prudent, while he was in Scotland, to diſpute it with the king; but took the oath preſcribed to him, and yielded thoſe provinces, in hopes of recovering the reſt of the kingdom by the aſſiſtance of the Scotch.

Another difficulty with regard to this matter was alſo adjuſted. That no diſcontent might remain in the earl of Cheſter, on account of his claim to Carliſle, which he had not renounced when Stephen gave that city to David, it now was agreed, that the eldeſt ſon of the earl ſhould marry the daughter of Henry prince of Scotland, and receive in exchange for his pretenſions to Carliſle the honor of Lancaſter, which they propoſed to conquer for him. I preſume that he was not to hold this acquiſition as a fief under David, who had no title to it; but under Henry Plantagenet, as king of England.

land. This being ſettled, he departed, in order to raiſe greater forces, with which he engaged to join the Scotch. The place of rendezvous was appointed at Lancaſter, and a day fixed for his coming. David accordingly marched thither with his army: but, the earl not keeping his word, he returned to Carliſle much diſſatisfied. While he lay there, Stephen drew his troops together, and came to York; but kept himſelf entirely upon the defenſive: and David acted with the ſame caution. We are not informed what it was that cauſed the earl of Cheſter to fail in his promiſe. Perhaps he could not raiſe his vaſſals ſo ſpeedily, as he had imagined he ſhould, when he left Carliſle; or rather the mere levity of his natural temper made him falſe to his word: for he was accuſtomed to change his conduct, not only with his intereſt, but with all the irregular ſallies of his paſſions. Poſſibly too the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who might think it would become him to be laſt in the field, was ſtopped by the backwardneſs he ſaw in the earl and ſome of his other confederates, upon whoſe alacrity he had counted. It might have been expected, that the earls of Norfolk, of Pembroke, and of Hertford, would join the king of Scotland and Henry Plantagenet, either with the earl of Cheſter, or without him: but they were, probably, reſtrained from it, by ſome negociation opened with them by Stephen, or by the

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difficulty they found of drawing their forces out of the ſeveral counties, in which their chief power lay: and their inaction might be an argument to with-hold the archbiſhop, who, certainly, was not deficient in zeal for the cauſe, nor in courage.

The hopes of prince Henry were all blaſted by this diſappointment. He ſought an occaſion of exerciſing his new profeſſion of arms, or (to ſpeak in the language of that age) he deſired *to gain his ſpurs*; but he could not poſſibly take the field, againſt a royal army, with his own troops alone; nor find any proper means of employing his valor, while the two kings, almoſt equally afraid of each other, contented themſelves with only guarding their borders. Thus it happened that the whole ſummer, and part of the autumn, of the year eleven hundred and forty nine, paſſed without any conſiderable event, except that Euſtace, who, that year, had been knighted by his father, and had the command of ſome forces, made incurſions into the lands of thoſe Engliſh barons who were with Henry at Carliſle, and did them much miſchief. The reputation which that prince acquired by this action, the firſt exploit of his manhood, cauſed Henry to repine the more at his own hands being tied: and therefore, ſeeing no proſpect of gaining any honor, or doing himſelf any ſervice, by a longer abode in the court of David,

Gerv. Chron. ſub ann. 1150.

David, whom he found determined not to act offenſively againſt Stephen, he returned into Normandy, at the beginning of the year eleven hundred and fifty. Yet, though he had not been able, during his ſtay in this iſland, to ſignalize himſelf by any illuſtrious actions, he left behind him ſuch impreſſions of his merit and capacity, that his having come over was in reality of great advantage to him, and ſtrongly diſpoſed the minds of the Engliſh nobility to invite him again, at a more favorable ſeaſon. Book I.

The earl of Anjou was now in quiet poſ- A. D. 1150.
ſeſſion of Normandy, having deterred all his enemies from exciting any new diſturbances there, by the firmneſs and vigour of his government. But the treaſonable practices of a prince of the blood would have kindled a civil war in the whole kingdom of France, if it had not been prevented by the prudence and magnanimous ſpirit of Abbot Suger, who, when his maſter went to the Holy war, had been left regent of France, from the ſingular confidence, which, not only the king, but the nation, unanimouſly placed in his wiſdom and integrity. Their opinion of him was juſtified by every act of his regency: but the moſt difficult part of it was at the latter end, when Robert earl of Dreux, who had returned into France before his brother, tried to raiſe a rebellion there againſt that monarch, and obtain the crown for himſelf; V. Sug. epiſt. 65. et vie de Suger.

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himſelf; or, at leaſt, to uſurp the whole power of the government. His hopes of ſucceſs in this flagitious deſign were grounded on the ill humour, which the loſs and diſhonor that the nation had ſuffered, from the late unhappy cruſade, had produced in many of the French, a people unapt, from the vivacity of their temper, to bear with moderation either good or bad fortune. He artfully fomented this diſcontent, and, by imputing the diſaſters, of which they complained, to the weakneſs and folly of Louis, drew upon him at once their contempt and indignation. The hiſtory of France afforded precedents of depoſing kings for incapacity, and ſhutting them up in convents. Louis had no iſſue male: his brother Henry, who was next in the order of ſucceſſion, had taken the frock of a monk in the abbey of Clairvaux: theſe circumſtances were very favorable to the ambition of Robert, who reſolved to make uſe of them, and puſh his fortune to the utmoſt. The ferment in the minds of the people was great: and many of the nobles were ready for a revolt; Robert having gained a ſtrong party among thoſe, with whom he had ſerved in the Eaſt, by his manly and military character, which ſeemed to render him far more worthy to govern the French nation, than the bigoted Louis; and the general poverty brought upon them, by their expences and miſadventures in their late ruinous enterpriſe, inſtigating them

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them to ſeek a remedy for it, in the confuſion and violence of civil war, or in ſuch a change of the government, as might entitle them to advantages, they could not hope for in the preſent ſtate of the kingdom. But the regent was warned of theſe dangerous machinations, by a letter from the earl of Flanders, who, at the ſame time that he cautioned him to be well upon his guard, offered to come and aſſiſt him, if there ſhould be any occaſion for it, with the whole force of his earldom. So frank an offer, made at ſuch a critical time, by one of the braveſt and moſt powerful princes of France, enabled the regent to maintain his maſter's authority, and extinguiſh this rebellion before it broke out into any open flame. V. Sug. epiſt. 65.

What part was taken by the earl of Anjou we are not informed: but as he, and his brother-in-law, the earl of Flanders, generally acted in concert, and as he lived in the moſt cordial friendſhip with Suger, we may venture to conclude, that he gave no encouragement to the treaſon of Robert, or rather, that he joined with them to reſiſt it. In the collection of Suger's letters there is one, from him to that miniſter, wherein he uſed theſe expreſſions: "I notify to you, "*as my deareſt friend*, that (if it be neceſ- "ſary) you may ſend for me upon the king's "ſervice, *and I ſhall moſt certainly attend* "*you, to ſerve him in all affairs, as you ſhall* "*require, and even with more diligence than* V. Sug. epiſt. 37.

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"*if he were preſent.*" This letter indeed was written before the return of the earl of Dreux into France; but I find no reaſon to doubt that Geoffry ſtill continued in the ſame diſpoſitions. Suppoſing only that he did not abett the deſigns of Robert, it was of great ſervice to Louis: for if the power of the dutchy of Normandy, and of the earldoms of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, had, in this conjuncture, been employed to ſtrengthen the faction againſt that monarch, the worſt conſequences might have been feared from ſuch a confederacy. But it may naturally be preſumed, from his connections at this time, and from the kindneſs which afterwards continued to ſubſiſt between Suger and him, that, on this occaſion, he was more than unactively loyal. Yet no ſooner was the king delivered from the danger of ſo formidable a revolt, than, as we learn from Suger's letters, he was ready to draw his ſword againſt the earl of Anjou. The cauſe of their quarrel is not told, either in any of thoſe letters, or by the contemporary hiſtorians. But it will not be difficult to gueſs the motives, from which Louis might be induced to ſuch a war. For though, before he took the croſs, his intereſts, or his paſſions, had cauſed him, in the manner before related, to give the inveſtiture of the dutchy of Normandy to Geoffry Plantagenet, other ſentiments might now prevail in his mind: eſpecially as his hatred againſt the houſe

V. Sug. epiſt. 150. 153.

houſe of Blois was intirely overcome, by the artful addreſs of the preſent head of that family, Henry earl of Champagne, who had gone with him to the Eaſt, and there had inſinuated himſelf into his favor. This prince would naturally uſe all his credit with his ſovereign to the advantage of Euſtace, his couſin german, and Stephen, his uncle; which, together with the ſupplications and reproaches of Conſtantia, the ſiſter of Louis, married to Euſtace, might incline the king, who was very inconſtant in his own policy, to undo his own work, and drive the earl of Anjou again out of Normandy, that he might reſtore it to his brother-in-law, according to the tenor of a prior engagement, contracted by his father, and ratified by himſelf. But the immediate occaſion of their quarrel might ariſe from diſputes concerning the extent of the king's juriſdiction over the vaſſals of Normandy, upon appeals made to his court from the court of their duke. The mind of Louis might thus be irritated againſt the earl of Anjou; and in that diſpoſition it would eaſily receive all impreſſions, which the friends of Stephen and Euſtace deſired to make, againſt the right of that prince or of his conſort, Matilda, to the dutchy of Normandy. Certain it is that he had formed a deſign of attacking him in that country, and was preparing for it, with great ardor: but as ſoon as Suger, who then was abſent from the French court, received

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V. Sug. epiſt. 77.

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notice of this unexpected reſolution, he wrote to the king, and earneſtly entreated him, not to engage inconſiderately in a war againſt the earl of Anjou, whom he himſelf had made duke of Normandy, *without the advice of all his barons:* becauſe ſuch a war, if raſhly undertaken, could neither be carried on without great difficulty, nor dropt with honor. He alſo ſent a letter to the earl of Anjou and Matilda, expreſſing the greateſt concern at the difference between his maſter and them. He told them, that he had been honored with marks of extraordinary favor and confidence by their father King Henry, and had done him great ſervices in many important negociations and treaties. Particularly he affirmed, that, for twenty years together, no peace had been ever made between Louis le Gros and that monarch, without his having had a principal ſhare in ſettling the terms of it, as one who was equally truſted by both princes. He profeſſed, that he ſtill retained the ſame diſpoſitions; and not meerly from love of peace, but out of gratitude for the favors which Henry had done him, he now exhorted the earl of Anjou and Matilda, to uſe, with all diligence, their utmoſt endeavours, by the mediation of their friends, to appeaſe the anger of the king, and regain his affection, while it was yet in their power to regain it, and before he had concluded any league with their enemies. Theſe letters had all the

V. Sug. epiſt. 150.

V. Sug. epiſt. 153.

the effect he wiſhed. Louis was ſtopped from purſuing his intention; and, when he had leiſure to reflect more coolly upon it, he diſcovered what his paſſion before had concealed, the very bad policy of agitating his kingdom, which ſtood in ſuch need of repoſe, with new inteſtine broils, and of making that potentate an implacable enemy, whom he had found a uſeful friend. He therefore left the earl of Anjou in peace, and broke off the treaty begun with Euſtace. Whether that earl had gone ſo far, in deference to him, as to yield the point in diſpute, we are not informed: but it may be preſumed, that, agreeable to the council given by Suger, he made ſome conceſſions, in order to recover his favor. Nor did he think it adviſeable to ſit down content with having only diſpelled the preſent ſtorm; but, foreſeeing a new change in the mind of the king, endeavoured to prevent the effects of his levity, by a negociation, which was undoubtedly concerted between him and Suger. A propoſal was made to that monarch in his name, with the concurrence of Matilda, that, if he would give the inveſtiture of the dutchy of Normandy to Henry their ſon, they would cede to him the Norman Vexin, a province lying betwixt the rivers Epte and Andelle, wherein was ſituated the caſtle of Giſors, which had been the principal cauſe of diſcord between Louis le Gros and King Henry. It ſeems ſurpriſing, that the earl, inſtead of retaining

Geſt. Ludov. vii. Reg. c. 28. Hiſtor. ejuſd. ap Ducheſne, p. 414. R. de Monte Chron. Norm. p. 984.

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retaining the dutchy under his own adminiſtration, as he had hitherto done, ſhould deſire to give up a frontier of ſuch imporance, and which had coſt ſo much blood, merely with the view of procuring for his ſon the inveſtiture of the whole! No cauſe is aſſigned for it by any ancient hiſtorian: but ſeveral motives may be well ſuppoſed to have influenced his conduct in this affair. He probably might diſcern that his ſubjects of Normandy deſired rather to be governed by his ſon, than by him; that prince being the neareſt heir male in deſcent from William the Conqueror, and now of an age, which, with an underſtanding ſo mature and forward as his, they judged to be capable of ſuſtaining the weight of the government. Another conſideration, which might reaſonably appear of great moment, was that the immediate poſſeſſion of Normandy would be very uſeful to Henry, in aſſiſting him to recover the kingdom of England; as the moſt powerful nobles, who had fiefs in both countries, were very deſirous of holding them under one lord. And to ſecure his title to Normandy, by a new act of the French crown, ariſing from a treaty beneficial to that crown, was doubtleſs good policy: for the pretenſions of Euſtace might at any time become formidable, if Louis could be induced to countenance and ſupport them. The earl of Anjou therefore acted a very prudent part in making this offer; and as for

for Matilda, ſhe gave up only the name of a power which ſhe had never enjoyed, to procure a ſolid benefit for a ſon whom ſhe loved. Poſſibly too ſhe might hope to have a more real ſhare in the government, when veſted in her ſon, than ſhe could, while it continued in the hands of her huſband. The king of France, extremely pleaſed with gaining the Vexin, granted, without any difficulty, the inveſtiture they deſired. For that purpoſe he went himſelf into Normandy, about the autumn of the year eleven hundred and fifty; and, leſt any faction there ſhould be inclined to oppoſe his deſign, he led an army thither; with which having, as ſovereign, taken poſſeſſion of the dutchy, he delivered it all, except the Vexin, to Henry Plantagenet, after hearing his title to it made out in due form, and receiving his homage.

Thus was this prince, even during the life of his parents, raiſed to the exerciſe of dominion, and formed in the earlieſt bloom of youth, to the duties of the high rank he was born to; learning by practice, as well as precepts, the ſcience of government, which, without practice, no inſtructions can ſufficiently teach. A. D. 1150.

The earl of Anjou had certainly great reaſon to hope, that, after this ſettlement of the dutchy of Normandy, with ſo much ſatisfaction

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faction to both parties, nothing could ſoon happen to diſturb the good harmony between Louis and Henry: but the feudal government, in a country where the fiefs were ſo great, was a perpetual ſource of diſcord. One of his Angevin barons, named Gerard de Berlai, lord of Montreuil, had been in rebellion againſt him, truſting, as it ſeems, to the ſtrength of his caſtle. It was indeed almoſt impoſſible to take it by ſtorm: but Geoffry built three forts of ſtone, which entirely ſhutting up all the paſſages to it, for three years together, by this kind of blockade he obliged it to ſurrender, and took the lord of it priſoner, a little after the ceſſion of Normandy to his ſon. This was accounted in thoſe days, (as appears by the words of a contemporary hiſtorian) an extraordinary and glorious exploit, *the like of which* (ſays that author) *had not been heard of, ſince the time of Julius Cæſar*. He meant, I preſume, the long continuance of the ſiege; it being then very unuſual for any to be protracted above three or four months. But Gerard had found means to engage the king of France in the ſupport of his quarrel, perhaps by alledging that he was not a vaſſal of Anjou, but of Poictou; Montreuil being then a diſtrict of the latter, if the author of the Norman Chronicle be not miſtaken. It now belongs to Anjou; from whence it is probable, that the right to it was doubtful, and a matter of contention between the earl of Anjou and dukes

Chron. Norm. ſub ann. 1150.

V. Chron. Norm. ut ſup.

dukes of Guienne; which might induce Louis to conſider Gerard de Berlai as *his* vaſſal, and the caſtle as belonging to *him* by his marriage. Certain it is, that he took upon himſelf the protection of both, and was much incenſed at the earl of Anjou for detaining that lord in captivity, as well as for having preſumed to demoliſh the caſtle. But Geoffry, who thought that he had done nothing illegal, would not ſubmit in this point to the royal authority; and the diſpute upon it grew ſo hot, that Louis determined to chaſtiſe his *rebellion* (for ſuch he called his *reſiſtance)* by force of arms. Normandy had no concern in the quarrel; yet he choſe to begin the war by attacking that dutchy, either taking it for granted that Henry would act in defence of his father, or believing that Geoffry would be more intimidated, if the ſtorm fell on his ſon, than if it were directed againſt himſelf. To give the greater alarm, he ſent for Euſtace, King Stephen's ſon; who readily came at his call; and they marched together into Normandy, the frontier of which was open on the ſide of the Vexin. About the middle of ſummer, in the year eleven hundred and fifty-one, they laid cloſe ſiege to the ſtrong caſtle of Arques. Henry came againſt them at the head of an army compoſed of Angevins, Normans, and Bretons; the laſt of whom ſerved him as vaſſals of Normandy, of which Bretagne was was held in fief. His force was ſuperior to

that

that of his enemy, and the ardor of youth made him wiſh for an engagement, in which he hoped that he might vanquiſh a king of France: but, eager as he was to acquire that glory, he ſuffered himſelf to be reſtrained by the counſels of ſome of his oldeſt and wiſeſt friends, who adviſed him to avoid, if poſſible, a battle with his ſovereign. Their caution was reaſonable; and it did Henry more honor, that he could, at his age, be prudent enough to regard it, than if, againſt their advice, he had fought and conquered.

Louis, finding the duke ſtronger than he had expected, returned to Paris, in order to raiſe more forces, without which he was ſenſible he could not ſucceed; as none of the Normans had revolted in favor of Euſtace. He was now reconciled to his brother, the earl of Dreux, and not only forgave him his treaſonable attempts, but truſted and employed him; his temper knowing no medium between hatred and confidence. When the new levies were made, he and that prince went together, at the head of thoſe bands, and fired the town of Seez, which belonged to William de Talevaz, one of the greateſt Norman barons: after which, the king, being indiſpoſed, returned to Paris, but ordered his army to poſt itſelf on the bank of the Seine, along the Norman frontier; intending to lead it into Normandy, as ſoon as his health would permit. At the ſame time, the earl of Anjou and Henry, uniting their forces,

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ces, lay on the borders of Normandy, over againſt the king's troops, and ſhewed, that, although they were deſirous of peace, they were not afraid of war. If Louis had been able to act, the affair might have become very ſerious: but his diſtemper encreaſing to a violent fever, he willingly agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms, during which growing better he liſtened to propoſals for an accommodation, that were made to him by ſeveral eccleſiaſticks, whom the earl of Anjou employed, as the beſt negotiators with a prince of his character. Probably Suger was one who laboured the moſt in this treaty: for, beſides the regard he profeſſed for the houſe of Anjou the intereſt of his maſter, and of the kingdom, which ſtood in need of a long peace to recover its ſtrength, muſt have inclined him to promote it with all his power. It was indeed unpardonable in Louis, ſo quickly after he had granted the inveſtiture of Normandy to Henry Plantagenet, not only to attack him, on account of a difference with his father, but to bring over Euſtace, with an apparent intention, againſt the faith of the moſt ſolemn treaty, and while he actually enjoyed the benefits of it, to reſtore the dutchy to that prince. Suger muſt have ſeen this levity with concern: but all the influence he had acquired over his mind, could not hinder the firſt heat of his impetuous temper from hurrying him into raſh and inconſiſtent acts. The utmoſt he could do was to ſeize

Chron. Norm. ut ſuprà.

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every moment of cooler thought, and bring him back to reaſon, by gentle reproofs, or by artful inſinuations. Thus he ſeems to have proceeded with him upon this occaſion; and having been aſſiſted by the prudent conduct of the earl of Anjou and of Henry, he re-eſtabliſhed that tranquillity he ſo much deſired. The terms of peace were only theſe; that the earl ſhould give up his priſoner, Gerard de Berlai, to the king; and that Henry ſhould renew his homage for Normandy. The unhappy Euſtace was thus ſent back to England, with the grievous mortification of ſeeing the dutchy, which he came over to regain, confirmed to his enemy. A miſerable condition it is for a prince, who has high thoughts and pretenſions, to depend, for the ſupport of them, upon the aid of another! He will be ſet up and caſt down, at every turn, juſt as the intereſt or caprice of the potentate upon whom he relies, or the inclinations of favorites, may happen to change. From the character given of Euſtace, by the writers of thoſe times, we may be certain that he felt very ſharply the uneaſineſs and humiliation of ſuch a dependence: but he was forced to ſubmit; and (what was ſtill more painful to him) he durſt not complain: for he was afraid, by ſhewing his reſentment, to loſe the affection of Louis, which might be uſeful to him upon other occaſions, and truſted to the unſteadineſs of that king in his politicks, that the houſe of Plan-

Plantagenet and he would not long continue friends. Book I.

Henry, being now in quiet poſſeſſion of Normandy, turned his thoughts towards England, and covened a great council of the Norman nobility, in order to conſult with them in what manner he ſhould purſue his claim to that kingdom. But, while he was eagerly intent on the reſult of this deliberation, his father, the earl of Anjou, died of a fever, on the tenth of September, in the year eleven hundred and fifty one, being the forty firſt of his age. Chron. Norm. ut ſuprà. A. D. 1151.

From all we know of this prince, he appears to have been a man of a very ſound underſtanding; active and brave; but cautious; and leſs a warrior than a ſtateſman. Though he paid little regard to the notions of piety inculcated by the clergy, where he found them oppoſite (as they often were) to his temporal rights, yet he had a ſober and rational ſenſe of religion. His moral character was good, but not ſhining, rather exempt from great vices than adorned with great virtues. But there was in his temper a happy moderation, which when fortune was adverſe to him, enabled him to wait, with patience and firmneſs, for better opportunities; and, when favorable, preſerved him from inſolence and preſumption. Ibid ibidem. et vit. Geoff. Duc. Norm.

He left three ſons by Matilda. To Henry, the eldeſt, he bequeathed his three earldoms, Chron. Norm. ut ſuprà.

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Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, except the caſtles of Chinon and Loudon in Touraine, and that of Mirebeau in Anjou, which, with all their dependences, he gave to Geoffry, his ſecond ſon. Some authors have ſaid, that the earldom of Mortagne was given by him to William, his youngeſt ſon. But, as Mortagne was a province of Normandy, which before his death he had reſigned entirely to Prince Henry, he could not by his will diſpoſe of it to another: and therefore this bequeſt (if indeed there was any ſuch) muſt be conſidered as a *recommendation* of his third ſon to that earldom, *if Henry ſhould be willing to beſtow it upon him*. It is evident by an act of that prince not long afterwards, that he thought himſelf at liberty to diſpoſe of it otherwiſe, as his own intereſt then required. Nor do we find any legacy of money bequeathed to William by his father: but his whole fortune was left dependent on Henry's affection. Better care was taken of Geoffry: for, beſides the preſent gift of the above-mentioned caſtles, his father directed by a clauſe in his will, that if ever Henry ſhould be fully poſſeſſed of his mother's inheritance, that is, of England and Normandy, he then ſhould give up all his paternal dominions, namely the earldoms of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, to his ſecond brother. And to prevent this reverſion from being diſputed by Henry, as he apprehended it would, he obliged all the biſhops and barons, who were with

Gul. Neubrig. l. ii. c. 7.

with him, to take an oath, that they would not ſuffer his body to be buried, till Henry had ſworn to perform indiſcriminately every part of his will. When that prince came to attend the obſequies of his father, he was immediately informed of the oath theſe lords had taken, and exhorted to take that required of him, before he was acquainted with the contents of the will. He reſiſted ſome time; but being urged with the indecency of letting his father's corpſe remain unburied, he yielded at laſt, though with great marks of diſcontent. After the funeral, the will being opened, he ſaw why the teſtator had thought it neceſſary to take ſo extraordinary a method of forcing him to fulfil it.

It ſeems that Matilda, after the loſs of her huſband, reſided conſtantly at Roüen; and, probably, ſhe was lodged in the ducal palace with her ſon, who repaid her affection for him with the moſt pious reſpect and filial tenderneſs. The deſign he had formed of proſecuting his right to the crown of England was ſtopped by his father's death, and by the neceſſity of taking poſſeſſion of his three earldoms, and paying the homage due to Louis, his ſovereign. But this delay, as well as all other accidents, turned to his benefit; fortune and prudence co-operating equally to aid his ambition. For, beſides the great encreaſe of territory and power, which he derived from the inheritance of his paternal

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dominions, a much greater accrued to him by his ſtaying in France at this time, which perhaps he might have loſt, if he had then been engaged in the troubles of England.

Gerv. Chron. et Annales de Waverley, ſub ann. 1152. Concil. Bulgent. Geſt. Ludov. vii. Reg. c. 29. Neubrigenſis, l. i. c. 31.

The ſuſpicions, which Louis had conceived of his queen, had been ſo far got over, or, at leaſt, quieted in his mind, that he, probably, would have continued to live with her as well as he had done for ſome years, if ſhe had ſought to recover his affection. But ſhe did the very reverſe, from ſeveral motives. Her character and his were ſo diſcordant, that it had turned the regard, which ſhe appeared to have for him when they were firſt married, into a ſettled averſion. His ſuperſtitious devotion and unkingly humility raiſed her contempt: and ſhe often complained of her having married a monk, not a king. Beſides this unhappy diſagreement in their tempers, ſhe was of a ſpirit too high and fierce, not to remember, with implacable anger, his hurrying her away in ſuch a manner from Antioch; which had brought a foul ſtain on her honor: and ſuppoſing his ſuſpicions to have been groundleſs, one cannot much condemn her for ſuch a reſentment. Inſtead therefore of ſoothing his mind to a forgetfulneſs of their paſt quarrel, ſhe conſtantly irritated and inflamed his diſpleaſure, hoping and endeavouring to bring him to part from her by a divorce; for which a decent pretence was eaſily found in the uſual plea of a relation within

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within the degrees forbidden by the canons. Louis and ſhe were fourth couſins; and had they been couſins only in the ſeventh degree, it would have rendered their marriage null, by the canons of the church, without a diſpenſation from the pope, which they had not obtained before their union: a neglect hard to be accounted for, in a match of ſuch importance to the kingdom of France! She therefore pretended a ſcruple about this conſanguinity; and partly by alarming the timorous conſcience of her weak-minded huſband, partly by provoking his anger againſt her, at length induced him to come into her meaſures for diſſolving their marriage. We are told by an hiſtorian, who lived in thoſe times, that it was ſaid, her inclination for the young duke of Normandy was the chief reaſon, which prevailed with her to deſire and procure this divorce. Nor is it improbable: for Henry was handſome, and full of the agreeable fire of youth, with a certain military air and demeanor, which, to a lady of her gay diſpoſition, was a moſt powerful charm. He had been twice at the court of France ſince he returned out of Scotland; once, when he did homage for the dutchy of Normandy, and again, when he came thither to perform the ſame ceremony for the earldoms his father had left him. At both theſe times he ſaw the queen, and might have many opportunities to converſe with her freely. Her heart, which was abſolutely

Neubrigenſis, ut ſuprá.

Vid. auctores cit. ut ſuprà.

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ſolutely eſtranged from her huſband, might too eaſily admit a paſſion for him; and that paſſion might influence her to preſs the more vehemently her ſeparation from Louis. Whether Henry was in love with her, is uncertain. Their ages were unequal; for ſhe was thirty years old and he under twenty: but, with a good ſhare of beauty, and more of vivacity, ſhe had ſtill youth enough to gain the heart of a young man, though not to keep it long. One paſſion at leaſt, which was very ſtrong in Henry, ſhe perfectly gratified, and better than any other lady could do; I mean his ambition. Nor could ſhe make a fitter choice, if ſhe deſired, as ſhe undoubtedly did, to vex and mortify the huſband ſhe quitted: for by giving herſelf, and the dominions of Aquitaine to a prince already poſſeſſed of Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, ſhe made him a vaſſal much too great for his ſovereign; beſides the hope ſhe entertained of his making himſelf king of England, after ſuch an augmentation of power and ſtrength, as he would gain by this match. It is therefore moſt probable, that ſhe acted in conſequence of a plan, concerted between them, at their laſt meeting. Louis was the dupe of of this intrigue, and did not conſider ſo deeply as he ought to have done, how much he muſt loſe, as king of France, by annulling a marriage, which had annexed the two dutchies of Guienne and Gaſcony, with the great earldom of Poictou and all their dependant provinces,

vinces, again to his crown. Suger was dead; and he had no other friend, either ſo honeſt, or ſo wiſe, as to ſhew him all the folly of what he was doing. He therefore followed the method that Eleanor had ſuggeſted, and, having aſſembled a council at Baugency, declared to them, that he found himſelf troubled in conſcience, about the conſanguinity between him and the queen; which being atteſted by the oaths of ſome of her own relations there preſent, the council unanimouſly diſſolved the marriage, as inceſtuous and void, after they had cohabited almoſt ſixteen years, and though ſhe had brought him two daughters, who were both living. The ſentence was likewiſe confirmed by the papal authority. Thus, without the leaſt mention of the queen's infidelity, which indeed could not be proved, Louis and ſhe were divorced, to the entire ſatisfaction of both, but infinitely to the detriment of him and his kingdom: for no reaſon or colourable pretence could be found, after the marriage was declared to be null, for his retaining the territories belonging to her as heireſs to her father. He therefore reſigned them to her, however unwillingly, and againſt his own intereſts. Some modern hiſtorians, who blame his ill policy in that reſtitution, ſeem not to have conſidered the equity of the caſe. He may indeed be juſtly cenſured, as king of France, for great imprudence, in the divorce; but the reſtoring to the dutcheſs of Aquitaine the in-

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſuprà.

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heritance ſhe had brought him in right of their marriage, was an unavoidable conſequence of diſſolving that marriage. Neither would her friends, nor would ſhe herſelf, have ever agreed to it without this condition: and if any oppoſition had been made to it by them, it could not have been effected: for, even with the unanimous conſent of all parties, it was a ſcandalous act.

The daughters, thus illegitimated, remained with their father; but Eleanor went immediately into Guienne. If we may believe ſome modern writers, Louis flattered himſelf, that ſhe would always remain unmarried, from her bad reputation; ſaying "her behaviour had made her ſo infamous, "that the pooreſt gentleman in his kingdom "would not deſire to have her for his wife." But, admitting that ſuch an expreſſion did really drop from him (of which I very much doubt) he was extremely miſtaken in his judgement. More than one prince of the higheſt rank in France deſired her hand, as ſoon as ever he had ſet it at liberty; either not believing the reports againſt her honor, or only regarding the dower that ſhe would bring to her huſband. One of theſe ſuitors was the ſecond ſon of Thibaud earl of Champagne, King Stephen's brother, who, after a long ſickneſs, was lately deceaſed, and had left his territories divided between three of his ſons; the fourth being in orders. The ſhare of the ſecond was the earldoms of Blois and

See Mezerai. & vie de Sug.

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and of Chartres, with the diſtrict of Chateaudun; to which he willingly would have added the dutchy of Aquitaine, and therefore made propoſals of marriage to Eleanor, as ſhe paſſed through Blois to Guienne; which ſhe having rejected, he formed a deſign to ſeize her perſon, and force her to marry him: but, being happily warned of it, ſhe eſcaped to Tours. Nor was ſhe yet in ſafety. For Geoffry Plantagenet, either not knowing, or not reſpecting, the pretenſions of his brother, was no leſs deſirous than the earl of Blois to intercept ſo rich a prize. He could not propoſe himſelf as an equal match, having only three caſtles to offer in return for all her ample dominions; but he thought that he might poſſibly obtain her by force, and reſolved to carry her off, by laying an ambuſh for her at Port de Piles, on a ſuppoſition that in her journey between Tours and Guienne ſhe would paſs through that place. So much did the actions of princes in that age reſemble thoſe we read of in the old romances! But her danger at Blois had rendered her very cautious; and her intelligence was ſo good, that ſhe got notice alſo of this deſign againſt her, before it was executed: upon which, changing her road, and avoiding Port de Piles, ſhe arrived ſafe in Guienne; from whence ſhe ſent meſſengers to Henry Plantagenet, offering him her hand, or rather confirming the offer, which ſhe had, probably, made of it before her divorce;

Chron. Turon. Pere Daniel.

Gerv. Chron. ſub. ann. 1152. Neubrig. l. i. c. 31.

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and acquainting him with the dangers ſhe had run in her journey. Upon the receipt of her letters, he ſet out immediately with
A. D. 1152. few attendants, repaired to her at Poictiers, as ſoon and as ſecretly as he could; and, by a ſpeedy marriage, ſecured her to himſelf, before the king, her late huſband, had even a ſuſpicion of ſuch an intention. The nuptials were celebrated on Whitſunday, in the year eleven hundred and fifty two, within leſs than ſix weeks after her ſeparation from Louis. When that monarch was informed of her having ſo ſuddenly diſpoſed of herſelf, and to one whoſe greatneſs in the realm of France had before given him jealouſy, he expreſſed much diſpleaſure, and was exceedingly alarmed at the conſequences of it, which he ſaw it was no longer in his power to prevent. The ſubjects of Eleanor were all ſatisfied with the choice ſhe had made, and no ſymptom appeared in them of any unwillingneſs to ſubmit to their new maſter. A young prince of a common ſpirit would have now repoſed for ſome time, to enjoy the pleaſures of love, and the pride of dominion, in eaſe and tranquility. But, to a great mind, every new acquiſition of power is only a ſtep to ſome higher view of ambition. It was in this light that Henry ſaw the poſſeſſion he had gained of the dutchy of Aquitaine. He conſidered it as the means of recovering England; and, inſtead of laying his ambition aſleep in the arms of his agreeable

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agreeable bride, he determined not to let the ſummer paſs over, without vigorouſly proſecuting his claim to that kingdom.

The civil war, by the ſuperiority which Stephen had gained, had a little abated it's fury: but the worſt evils, occaſioned by it, continued ſtill unreſtrained. Obedience and diſcipline were loſt in both parties. After Henry's retreat from Scotland his friends had no leader, who had authority enough to controul them: nor was Stephen better able to govern his faction. The Engliſh nation had many tyrants, but no king. Liberty was deſtroyed, and licentiouſneſs reigned in it's ſtead. The nobles, who had fought under the banner of Stephen, became more inſolent from his ſucceſs, but ſhewed an unwillingneſs to render that ſucceſs compleat and deciſive; leſt, by putting an end to the troubles, they ſhould put an end to their own power in their ſeveral countries, or be accountable for the abuſe they had made of it in thoſe times of publick confuſion. His mercenaries alſo protracted the war from the ſame motive, and ſupported themſelves by rapine; for he could not maintain them; having not only waſted the great treaſure laid up by his frugal predeceſſor, and all that he had been able to extort from his ſubjects, but alienated moſt of the demeſnes of the crown. Among other bad expedients to anſwer his wants, he had miſerably debaſed the

Vid. Gul. Neub. l. i. c. 22.

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the coin of the kingdom: yet neither that, nor an univerſal venality of offices, benefices, dignities, honors, could ſupply the expence of ſo many foreign troops, as he ſtill thought it neceſſary to keep in his ſervice. They were unpaid, and conſequently ungovernable: refuſing all diſcipline, and tearing from the people, by all the violence of military force, the money which they could not get from the king. Nor did the clergy expect from him a leſs unbounded complaiſance than the army. It was *by them* that he reigned, and *for them alone* would they allow him to reign. Some further encroachment on the civil authority was daily made; ſome new immunity, privilege, or juriſdiction claimed, in behalf of the church. Not only the prelates and great nobles inſulted the crown, and invaded it's prerogatives, in this time of its weakneſs; but every lord of a caſtle arrogated to himſelf a royal power in his own diſtrict, exerciſing all judicature, both civil and criminal, and even coining money, in his own name. Theſe petty ſovereigns were continually at variance one with another; and as much blood was ſhed in their particular quarrels, as in the great conteſt between the houſes of Anjou and Blois. They even hired foreign mercenaries, after the example of Stephen, to wage their wars for them; and when money was wanting, inſtead of pay, or ſubſiſtence they gave them the pillage of lands and houſes. The beſt men of both parties were moſt

Newbrig. ut ſupra. See alſo Geſt. Steph. regis et Brompton.

moſt expoſed to theſe depredations; nothing in ſuch times being more unſafe than moderation and love of peace. As there was no power remaining in the laws, or the magiſtrate, for the redreſſing of wrongs; every man, who was, or ſuppoſed himſelf to be injured, ſought redreſs from his own hands, or thoſe of his friends: and thus no crimes were puniſhed, unleſs by other crimes of a more dangerous nature, ſuch as perpetuated diſorder and diſcord, and tended to the entire diſſolution of government. Out of this wretched ſtate there was no hope of drawing the nation, but by Henry's recovering the throne of his anceſtors.

The earl of Cornwall, his uncle, a little before his marriage with Eleanor, had gone over to him in Normandy, deputed by all his Engliſh friends (among whom were ſome, whoſe correſpondence with him was not ſuſpected by Stephen) to importune him to come and put himſelf at their head: whereupon he had ſummoned the great council of Normandy to meet him at Liſieux, as they had done the year before, about the ſame buſineſs. But he was drawn from thence, in the midſt of their conſultations upon it, by the agreeable invitation he received from Poictou, and detained ſome time in thoſe parts, by the ſolemnization of his marriage, and by the homage he was to receive in conſequence of it, from his new ſubjects there. As ſoon as he poſſibly could, he returned into Normandy,

Chron. Norm. P. 985.

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Normandy, no leſs eager to engage in his enterpriſe upon England, than he had been to obtain the poſſeſſion of Eleanor and the dutchy of Aquitaine. His ardor was well ſeconded by the zeal of his vaſſals: a great force was raiſed in all his territories on the continent; and he was preparing to embark with it, at Barfleur, about the middle of July; that is, in leſs than two months after the day of his marriage; when he was ſtopt by a formidable war, which, like a ſudden hurricane, burſt upon him at once, in Normandy and in Anjou, and threatened all his other dominions in France. There was confederated againſt him Louis, his ſovereign; the earl of Dreux, that king's brother; Euſtace, Stephen's ſon; the young earl of Blois; and his own brother, Geoffry Plantagenet. Theſe princes had ſecretly made a treaty of partition, by which they agreed to divide all his territories on the continent among themſelves. The reſentment of Louis upon account of his marriage, and a deſire to recover by force the dutchy of Aquitaine, induced him to engage in this iniquitous league. The earl of Dreux, having married the widow of Rotrou, late earl of Perche, and enjoying that earldom, as adminiſtrator or guardian, during the infancy of her ſon, had ſome diſputes with Henry, as duke of Normandy, about certain caſtles; from which cauſe, but ſtill more from a view of advancing his fortune, which did not anſwer the height either of

V. Chron. Norm. ſub. ann. 1143, &. 1151.

of his birth or his mind, he alſo ſought to ſhare in the ſpoils of that prince. Euſtace moſt gladly embraced the opportunity of trying to recover the dutchy of Normandy, thinking that Louis would ſupport him with more conſtancy now, than he had done heretofore; as his animoſity againſt Henry was greater. The earl of Blois might be incited by ſeveral motives to join in this alliance; by his near relation and friendſhip to Euſtace; by a hope of obtaining the favor of his ſovereign, in aſſiſting his revenge; by ſome anger againſt Eleanor for having refuſed him, and againſt Henry for being preferred to him; or by the deſire of enlarging his territories with part of Anjou. The moſt extraordinary circumſtance attending it was, that Henry's own brother ſhould be combined in a league which propoſed his deſtruction. He could aſſign no pretence for it, except that, according to the will of his father, he was to be put in poſſeſſion of all the Angevin territories, as ſoon as Henry ſhould be poſſeſſed of his mother's inheritance. But this included England, as well as Normandy, and therefore his claim was premature: nor was there a ſhadow of juſtice to excuſe him, for ſuch an unnatural and impious attack upon a good and kind brother. Perhaps he dreaded the reſentment of Henry for his intended rape of Eleanor at Port de Piles, and ſought to ſecure himſelf by a greater offence, as guilty men are often impelled to do. But it is more probable that ambition

V. Neubrig. P. 385.

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alone was his motive; the ſmall portion he then enjoyed not being ſufficient to ſatisfy a mind which aſpired to greatneſs. Whatever temptation he may have had to this act, it was in itſelf moſt atrociouſly criminal, and ſuch as even thoſe, with whoſe deſigns he concurred, muſt, in their hearts, have deteſted. Nevertheleſs he allured to his party ſome of the Angevin barons, and by their aſſiſtance gained poſſeſſion of two or three caſtles in Anjou; while his confederates marched into Normandy, and there beſieged Neufmarché, a ſtrong frontier town between Gournai and Giſors. When the news of this invaſion was brought to the duke, he quitted immediately his deſign upon England, and marched with his army, who were the flower of Normandy, Anjou, and Guienne, to give battle to Louis, in order to oblige him to raiſe the ſiege: but, before he could arrive, the town was ſurrendered, by the treachery of the garriſon. The whole dutchy of Normandy ſeemed to be now in great danger; and all men expected that Henry would have ſunk under ſo powerful a confederacy; as he had not one ally to aſſiſt him againſt them. Yet, notwithſtanding the number and ſtrength of his enemies, the ſuddenneſs of the attack, and the loſs of a place which had been a bulwark to his frontier, he ſtopped their arms; and ſo protected his country, by an able diſpoſition of the troops he had with him, and by the ſtrong reinforcements which came

Chron. Norm. p. 986, 987. Gerv. Chron. ſub ann. 1152. Hunt. f. 2. 6. c. 20.

came to him from all his other dominions, that the confederates every where retired before him, and conſtrained to quit the dutchy, after having ſeen him not only defeat their attempts, but ravage the adjacent demeſnes of Louis, and burn ſome of his caſtles, without their daring to give him battle. Upon their retreat out of Normandy, he left ſuch a force, as he thought would be ſufficient to defend it againſt them, if they ſhould return; and carried his arms into Anjou, to oppoſe the revolt which Geoffry Plantagenet had excited in thoſe parts. This he performed with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs, that, having taken the ſtrongeſt caſtle belonging to that prince, he ſoon compelled him to ſue, in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner for a reconciliation. Nor would he grant him any other terms than barely a pardon. For, however expedient it might be, in the preſent conjuncture, to pacify Anjou, he did not think it adviſeable to encourage his brother to make another war upon him in times to come, by allowing him to draw any advantage from this. The inſurrection in that province being entirely ſuppreſſed, within leſs than ſix weeks after its firſt breaking out, peace was happily ſettled there; and Henry returned into Normandy, which the confederates had attacked in his abſence, but without being able to do any thing of importance. They perhaps had expected that the Norman nobility would not

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſuprà.

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have adhered ſo generally and conſtantly to him as they did upon this occaſion, and were diſcouraged in their enterpriſe by that diſappointment. It is certain, they acted with very little ſpirit; and Louis falling ill of a fever, to which diſtemper he had lately been ſubject, his army mouldered away by frequent deſertions; ſo that, when he recovered, he was forced to retire to Paris, where he opened a negotiation for peace with Henry: it being his temper to grow ſoon very weary of a war, in which he met with any difficulties, or ill ſucceſs, the *holy war* only excepted. That prince received theſe overtures with great ſatisfaction, wiſhing to ſee all diſturbances in France compoſed, that he might be able to purſue his deſign upon England. A ceſſation of arms was therefore agreed on between them, the earl of Blois being alſo comprehended therein: and the unfortunate Euſtace returned to England, without any other benefit from this expedition, than the poſſeſſion of the town of Neufmarché, which Louis delivered to him. Henry, who had been threatened with the loſs of all his territories, was ſecure and triumphant. His very enemies loudly extolled the intrepidity and good conduct ſhewn by him, in thus maintaining himſelf againſt the efforts of ſo formidable an alliance; which, being the firſt great occaſion of exerting his talents, was deciſive to his character, and gave him a reputation, that helped him to gain the

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſupra.

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Engliſh throne, more than all the intrigues of his party in that kingdom. But, as he had not yet concluded a peace with Louis, he laid aſide all thoughts of going over to England, till the next year. In the mean time, he endeavoured to ſooth that monarch, by proper marks of reſpect, and proteſtations of affection to his perſon and ſervice; deſiring no triumph over him, but only peace with his favor; and repreſenting to him, that he had really no juſt cauſe to complain of his marrying Eleanor, who, being divorced, was free to diſpoſe of herſelf in another marriage; as ſhe had not given her hand to an enemy of the king, nor even to a foreigner, but to his friend and his vaſſal. There was great prudence in this language, and it made an impreſſion upon the mind of Louis, which from this time began to mitigate it's rancour towards him. What conditions of peace that monarch had propoſed we are not told. He probably wanted to have ſome parts of Aquitaine yielded to his daughters, that they might not be deprived of all the inheritance, which he had hoped they would receive from the dutcheſs, their mother. But Henry determined to keep the whole for himſelf and his children, according to the articles of his marriage-contract with Eleanor, and gave only fair words to appeaſe the king of France. This for ſome time delayed the concluſion of the peace, though the truce was ſtill continued; and, during the negotiations, Henry

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recompenſed the fidelity, which moſt of his barons had lately diſplayed in his ſervice, with great generoſity; knowing how advantageous it is for a prince to be accounted a liberal rewarder of merit. He was particularly bountiful towards his new ſubjects of Poictou and Guienne, who had ſtood very firm to him in this time of trial.

Gervaſe. ut ſupra.

While he was thus prudently fortifying himſelf againſt future attacks, by the moſt certain defence, the hearts of his people, Stephen was endeavouring to find other methods of ſecuring to Euſtace, his eldeſt ſon, the ſucceſſion to his kingdom. In order thereto, upon the return of that prince out of Normandy, he tried to cauſe him to be crowned king of England together with himſelf. By this means he hoped to bar the pretenſions of Henry, not only in his own lifetime, but after his death. The thing was new in this country; and, even if the nation had been united, it would have required great power, and very ſkilful management, to obtain their conſent to it. But the circumſtances of the time were ſo unfavorable to Stephen, and his authority was yet ſo unſettled, that he had not the leaſt encouragement to make the attempt. Nevertheleſs he undertook it, as he did all his enterpriſes, with more ardor than judgment; and calling together as many of the barons as paid him obedience, propoſed it to them, and to the ſpiritual lords; never reflecting, that, although

Gervaſe ut ſupra. Huntingdon, ſub ann. 1152. i. e. 17 Steph. reg.

though they agreed unanimouſly to it, the act of a party could not have been conſidered as the act of the nation, and therefore would not afterwards have prevented a diſpute about the ſucceſſion. But he could not induce even this ſhadow of a parliament to comply with his deſire. The biſhops, with one voice, refuſed their conſent, the pope having ſent letters to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, abſolutely forbidding him to raiſe to the throne the ſon of a king, *who againſt his oath had uſurped the kingdom.* Thus was Stephen declared by Rome a perjured uſurper, notwithſtanding the former bull confirming his title by the authority of that ſee, the deciſions of which moſt ſhamefully varied, according to the intereſts or paſſions of the pontiffs. This was the effect of the intrigues carried on between Pope Eugenius and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the origin of which has before been mentioned.

Stephen now ſaw what he had not yet apprehended, how totally he had loſt the affections of the clergy, and how far their intelligence with Henry had gone. It is very ſurpriſing, that even his own brother, the biſhop of Wincheſter, would not ſupport him in this buſineſs. I preſume he was influenced, not only by the fear of offending the pope, but by ſome ſecret regards he had for Henry. The rage of the king and of his ſon roſe even to frenzy, when they found their deſign thus defeated by the biſhops, and for a reaſon

more offenſive than the diſappointment itſelf. To conquer their obſtinacy, Stephen gave orders, that they ſhould not be ſuffered to leave the houſe they were in, till they yielded to his demand. A conſent ſo extorted by terror and violence would have been annulled by the pope, and could have been of no advantage to Euſtace, had it been gained. But moſt of the prelates were firm in refuſing to give it, even at the peril of their lives, and above all the archbiſhop of Canterbury. After ſome time, by a neglect in guarding the houſe, which probably was owing to corruption, or to private orders from the king, the primate got out, and made his eſcape into France. His brethren were then ſet at liberty; but their temporalities were all ſeized to the uſe of the king; which, however, he ſoon reſtored, retaining only thoſe of the fugitive archbiſhop. And he was compelled, not long afterwards, to recal that prelate to his ſee, by a ſentence of excommunication and interdict, which, if this was not done within a limited time, Eugenius had injoined the biſhops of England to paſs on their ſovereign, and on all parts of the kingdom which acknowledged his authority, without appeal.

Thus ended this buſineſs, to the no ſmall diſhonor both of Stephen and Euſtace: but youth and inexperience made it much more excuſable in the ſon than in the father. The only benefit which Euſtace obtained by it

V. Annales Waverl. ſub ann. 1152.

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was, that the earls and temporal barons, who attended this convention, did homage and ſwore fealty to him, as heir to the crown: but, the biſhops not concurring with them, it was hardly worth his while to receive ſuch an imperfect acknowledgement of a title, which future events alone could enable him to make good.

The very offenſive behaviour of the ſee of Rome and the Engliſh prelates, in this affair, made Stephen feel with greater pain, how much danger might ariſe to the general weal of his kingdom, from the encreaſing influence of the papacy over the minds of his clergy. His attention was more eſpecially led to one point, the conſequences of which his wiſeſt counſellors very juſtly apprehended. The law of England being a barrier againſt the whole ſyſtem of papal power, the prelates, who were become ſubſervient to that power, and continually appealed to it in the affairs of the church, had recourſe to the canon and civil laws, the authority of which they endeavoured to exalt above that of the former. A profeſſor of them, named Vacarius, was called over from Italy, in the year eleven hundred and forty eight, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and under his patronage they were taught in the archiepiſcopal palace and the univerſity of Oxford. Some of the books brought, and commented upon, by Vacarius, contained notions and maxims very repugnant to thoſe, on which the whole policy of

V. Johan. Saliſb. Policraticon, ſive de Nugis Curial. l. viii. c. 12. Gerv. Actus Pont. Cant. de Theobald. Chron. Norm. p. 983. D. Arth. Duck de uſu et authoritate Jur. Civ. l. i. c. 7. art. 10, 11, 13.

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the Engliſh government was erected. Stephen from the neceſſity he thought himſelf under of courting the favor of Rome, had connived at this evil; but finding Eugenius implacable to him, and openly at war with him and his ſon, he now changed his conduct, and had the reſolution to publiſh an edict, which ſilenced the profeſſor, and forbad the books. Yet little regard was paid to this prohibition. The clergy ſtill perſiſted to addict themſelves more and more to the ſtudy of theſe laws; and their implicit ſubmiſſion to the deciſions and decrees contained in the books of canon law, particularly, in the collection called the *Decretum*, which had been publiſhed by Gratian in the year eleven hundred and fifty one, continued in this and many following reigns, even till the reformation of religion was compleated, to raiſe and ſupport in them a ſpirit of independence pernicious to ſociety, and principles incompatible with the obedience they owed to the laws of their country.

V. John. Saliſb. ut ſupra. et in epiſt. et Selden's Review of his book on Tythes.

Stephen, having thus acted above his own character, and according to the maxims of the trueſt policy, while, perhaps, he only meant to ſhew his reſentment of the hoſtile conduct of Rome, betook himſelf again to his military operations, upon which he now perceived that he muſt ſolely depend for the future ſupport of his government. Thoſe of the two preceding years had not been very conſiderable, nor ſuch as one might have

have expected, when he was ſo ſuperior in ſtrength to his enemies; the cauſe of which has been before told. During that time his chief exploit was the taking and burning of Worceſter, which city the earl of Meulant, to whom he had formerly given it, now held againſt him. This nobleman had forſaken him, and aided Geoffry Plantagenet to finiſh his conqueſt of the dutchy of Normandy, in the year eleven hundred and forty three, as I have related in writing the tranſactions of that year: ſoon after which he went to the Holy war, and was now returned into England. Stephen, more incenſed againſt him than againſt any of the old friends of Matilda, aſſaulted the city of Worceſter, into which he had thrown himſelf, and having taken it by ſtorm, gave it up, to be pillaged by his ſoldiers, who ſet it on fire: but he could not take the caſtle, which the earl maintained very bravely. The next year he again beſieged it with ſtill greater forces, and was repulſed a ſecond time: after which he had recourſe to a leſs dangerous method of gaining his purpoſe, viz. the building two forts, to block it up; and leaving a part of his army, under the command of ſome nobles, in garriſon there, went back to London. This blockade would, in the end, have conſtrained the earl of Meulant to ſurrender his caſtle, for want of neceſſary proviſions, if he had not been ſpeedily relieved, by the help of the earl of Leiceſter, his mother's

V. H. Huntindon, ſub ann. Steph. Reg. 15 et 16.

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ther's ſon; who, either by pretending an order from Stephen, whoſe party he never had left, or by ſome other artifice, not explained in the hiſtory of thoſe times, cauſed the two forts to be raiſed. And yet this lord was eſteemed a man of virtue! Perhaps, finding himſelf ſuſpected, on his brother's account, and remembering the fate of Geoffry de Magnavilla and other noblemen in Stephen's party, who had been ſacrificed to ſuſpicion, he thought it neceſſary to conſult his own ſafety, by keeping up the power of his family, and not ſuffering any part of it to be oppreſſed. Indeed the general conduct of the king had been ſuch, as looſened all the bonds of truth and fidelity; and there was a contagion in the ſpirit of the times, which made men not aſhamed of violating their faith, and gave to fraud and treaſon the reputation of prudence.

Stephen would naturally have called the earl of Leiceſter to an account for this action; but he had other more important affairs on his hands, particularly his deſign of crowning Euſtace. When that had failed, he returned to the proſecution of the war, and, after a ſiege of ſome weeks, made himſelf maſter of the town and caſtle of Newbury. This being accompliſhed, he turned his arms againſt Wallingford caſtle, the chief place, next to Briſtol, that now remained in the hands of his enemies. It could not be taken, but by famine; and therefore he had

V. Huntingd. ut ſupra, Gerv. Chron. 1373.

had conſtructed ſeveral forts round about it, to block it up. The principal of theſe, which he called the caſtle of Craumers, was very ſtrong; and he had left there a large garriſon, to reſtrain that of Wallingford from making excurſions. The latter, however, were not ſo entirely ſhut up, but that they ſtill preſerved a communication with the neighbouring country, by a bridge over the Thames, which ran cloſe under the outward wall of the caſtle. In order to cut off this paſſage, and complete the blockade, Stephen erected a fort at the head of the bridge, which made it impoſſible for the troops that defended the caſtle either to go out for proviſions, or receive any in; and reduced them, in a ſhort time, to grievous want. Brien Fitz-comte, their governor, who was a perſon of high rank and conſideration in the party, ſeeing their condition ſo deſperate, found means to ſend a meſſage to Henry Plantagenet, deſiring aſſiſtance from him without delay, or permiſſion to ſurrender the caſtle to Stephen. That prince was much diſturbed upon receiving this meſſage, and greatly perplexed what part to take. It was now the depth of winter, a ſeaſon very unfit for paſſing the ſea; and, a worſe obſtacle to it was, that he had not yet made peace with the king of France. Nevertheleſs, as he apprehended the total diſcouragement of his party in England, if he ſhould ſuffer a place of ſuch importance to be loſt, he

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he determined to go over, truſting to the truce between him and that prince, which he flattered himſelf he might ſoon convert to a peace, by being a little more yielding, than he had hitherto been, in the treaty. But, while he was diligently preparing to execute this reſolution, Louis, informed by Euſtace of what conſequence it would be to detain him in Normandy at ſuch a critical time, ſent to return the hoſtages, which he had received from him on account of the truce, and to take back thoſe he had given: notifying thereby his intention of immediately renewing the war. Henry was now under ſtill greater difficulties in determining his conduct. To leave his dominions on the continent exhauſted of troops, when they were menaced with an inſtant invaſion from ſo powerful a prince, he thought very imprudent, and abſolutely repugnant to the maxims he had learnt from his father and grandfather, always to prefer the conſervation of preſent and certain poſſeſſions to the purſuit of uncertain hopes. At the ſame time, his friends in England deſired him to bring a great force to their aid; and to go with a ſmall one would expoſe him to evident danger, and might, probably, hinder many from declaring in his favor, who would be willing to do ſo, if they ſhould ſee him attended by a numerous army. The conjuncture appeared to be deciſive. Stephen was now in a ſtate of hoſtility with Rome and

V. Chron. Norm. p. 987. C. Neubrigenſ. l. i. c. 29.

and his biſhops, a circumſtance of the higheſt advantage to his enemies; that quarrel might be made up; Eugenius was old and likely to die very ſoon; another pope well diſpoſed to the houſe of Blois might be choſen. The archbiſhop of Canterbury would think himſelf ſlighted and ill uſed, if Henry did not ſupport him, but ſuffered the power of the king to encreaſe, when, in all probability, the whole ſtrength of it would be exerted in puniſhing thoſe, who had ventured to ſet him and his ſon at defiance. The biſhop of Wincheſter alſo would be obliged to return to the intereſts of his brother, unleſs the part he had lately taken againſt him, in the very important affair of his ſon's coronation, was juſtified by the courageous proceeding of Henry. Nor was it only his friends among the clergy whom that prince was afraid to loſe, by neglecting this criſis. The earl of Cheſter's irreſolution was not to be fixed, but by his preſence in England; and, if he loſt that potent lord, he loſt the chief ſupport of his party. The earls of Pembroke and Hertford would probably make their peace with Stephen, if they ſaw the affairs of that monarch in a proſperous ſtate; and others would be deterred from declaring againſt him, upon whoſe aid the duke of Normandy knew he might count, if he could ſtop the preſent courſe of Stephen's ſucceſs. Among theſe the earl of Leiceſter was a principal

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object of his hopes and attention: for that nobleman had too much offended the king, not to deſire to take from him the power of being revenged: but he would not engage with Henry in his abſence, nor go any greater lengths towards a revolt, till he ſhould ſee what ſupport he would be likely to find in changing his party. The ſuffering Wallingford caſtle to fall into the power of Stephen, would be an indelible ſtain to the honor of Henry, and produce, not only fear and dejection of ſpirit, but coldneſs and alienation in all his adherents.

Having well weighed all theſe things, but chiefly conſulting his own magnanimity, and rather conſidering what was moſt honorable for him to do, than what was moſt ſafe, he determined to go into England, A. D. 1153. without loſing a moment of time. Yet, that he might not expoſe his territories in France to any danger, during his abſence, Chron. Norm. et Neubrig. ut ſuprà. he left behind him much the greater part of the forces, which he had intended to carry over with him, and embarked with a body of only three thouſand foot and a hundred and forty knights; truſting that his preſence would encourage his party to join him, and that he ſhould be ſtrengthened by almoſt a general defection from Stephen. He had a paſſage more favorable, than, from the ſeaſon of the year, he could well expect, and landed very happily, it is not ſaid where, but probably at Wareham, on the

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ſixth day of January, eleven hundred and fifty three. The king, I imagine, either had no fleet at that time, or had neglected to guard the ſea between England and Normandy, from an opinion, that Henry would be ſtopped by the war renewed againſt him in France.

Gerv. Chron. ſub ann. 1153. Neubrig. ut ſupra. H. Huntingd. ſub ann. 18. Steph. Reg. Chron. Norm. p. 687, 688. Ann. Waverl. ſub ann. 1153.

As ſoon as the arrival of that prince was known, his mother's old friends, who had not yet made their peace with Stephen, immediately joined him: but they were ſomewhat diſheartened at his not having brought a greater army; and thoſe of the other party, who had given him hopes, that they would declare for him as ſoon as he ſhould land, ſhrunk back from their promiſes, when they found that he was come no better attended. The biſhops themſelves, who had been more eager than any others in calling him over, remained unactive. A man of leſs reſolution would have been intimidated and diſconcerted at this diſappointment: but he, full of confidence, endeavoured to raiſe the ſpirits of his friends by the alacrity of his own courage, and, having called a council of war, told them, he thought their ſtrength ſufficient to win the crown for him, and deliver themſelves from the tyranny, under which they groaned, though not another man ſhould ſtir to aſſiſt them: yet he did not queſtion that they would preſently be joined by great numbers, if they acted with vigour; whereas, if they diſcovered any

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ſymptoms of fear, they muſt deſpair of all ſupport. He concluded by declaring, that he was reſolved to undertake ſome conſiderable action, without loſs of time; and deſired them to adviſe him, what he ſhould firſt begin with; as they were better acquainted, than he was, with the country. Hereupon they unanimouſly gave him their opinion, that he ſhould lay ſiege to Malmſbury; a place which, if he could take it, would greatly facilitate the relieving of Wallingford, and which they hoped he might make himſelf maſter of, by a ſudden attack, before the king could draw his forces together. This counſel pleaſed him: he immediately marched, aſſaulted the town, and took it, in a very ſhort time, together with the caſtle, except one tower, which being too ſtrong to be taken by aſſault, he blocked it up, with a deſign of reducing it by famine. Stephen, who had intelligence of his having performed this ſpirited action, almoſt as ſoon as he heard of his landing in England, was much alarmed. He made all the haſte he could to aſſemble his forces, and having formed a great army marched directly to the enemy, and offered them battle. But Henry, who was much inferior to him in numbers, kept himſelf cloſe in his camp, which on one ſide was defended by the walls of the town, and on the other by the river Avon; continuing ſtill the blockade of the tower of Malmſbury, and avoiding to fight, unleſs Stephen

V. auctores citat. ut ſupra.

Stephen ſhould attack him; which he could not do in ſuch a poſt, without extreme diſadvantage. That monarch, nevertheleſs, determined to riſque it: for he found his army ſuffer much by the ſeverity of the cold, and apprehended that delay would ſtrengthen the duke. He therefore advanced to the river, with a reſolution to paſs it, though he ſaw the enemy all drawn up, in order of battle, on the oppoſite bank. But, as he came on, there aroſe a wintry ſtorm, with violent ſhowers of hail and ſleet, which drove directly in the faces of his men, who, quite benumbed with the wet and cold, loſt all uſe of their arms, all ſtrength, and courage; while thoſe of the duke, having the wind in their backs, and being much better ſheltered, ſuffered little by it. The river was ſwelled by the rains and rendered impaſſable; ſo that Stephen, deſpairing now of any ſucceſs, and unable to bear the inclemency of the weather, which continued very bad, retired to London.

This had great conſequences in favor of the duke. Soon afterwards the tower of Malmſbury was ſurrendered: the earl of Leiceſter declared for him: the counteſs of Warwick, whoſe huſband was then dying, delivered to him that caſtle; and thirty other ſtrong places, in different parts of the kingdom, were likewiſe yielded up. The people all believed that Heaven fought for him; a notion that did him much ſervice. His force

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was now ſufficient to enable him to attempt the relieving of Wallingford, which object he had moſt at heart: nor would it ſuffer any longer delay; the garriſon being ready to periſh with famine. He therefore marched thither, with all poſſible expedition; paſſed unmoleſted through the whole chain of forts, that Stephen had built round about it; and re-victualled the caſtle: the garriſons of thoſe places not daring to ſally out, or give any obſtruction to his enterpriſe. Having accompliſhed his purpoſe, he proceeded to beſiege the caſtle of Craumers, the ſtrongeſt of the forts abovementioned. Accordingly, he drew lines of circumvallation about it, and extended them from thence to Wallingford caſtle. Thus he cut off all ſupplies from the garriſon, and effectually prevented the ſiege, he was making, from being diſturbed by incurſions of the enemy's troops, out of the other ſmaller forts. He had leiſure to complete theſe works, before Stephen, who ſtaid ſome time at London to refreſh and recruit his forces, was able again to take the field. At laſt that prince, having made the utmoſt efforts to collect his whole ſtrength, marched towards Wallingford with an army more numerous than the duke's. Many of the barons attended his ſtandard, and among them the earl of Arundel, a man famous for his eloquence no leſs than for his valor. William of Ipres was likewiſe there, at the head of the mercenaries. Foremoſt of all, and moſt

Vid. auctores. citat. ut ſupra.

moſt eager to fight, was Prince Euſtace, being fired, not only by the ardor of youth and great natural courage, but by ſtrong emulation againſt Henry, the rival of all his pretenſions. Both had, from their infancy, been bred up in expectation of the kingdom of England; both had been inveſted with the dutchy of Normandy; both had married wives of the firſt rank in Europe; their age was the ſame; their valor equal: but in wiſdom, in knowledge, in the decency and the dignity of his behaviour, in all the virtues of civil life, Henry was vaſtly ſuperior to Euſtace.

As ſoon as the former had intelligence that the king was coming againſt him, he made a ſudden ſally out of Wallingford caſtle, and took by ſtorm the fort at the head of the bridge, which Stephen had erected the year before. Having thus opened to himſelf a free paſſage over the river, and a communication to the caſtle with the country on that ſide, he threw down his lines, and marched out, with great alacrity, to meet the king and give him battle. For, though inferior in numbers, yet as the diſparity was not very great, he thought it more prudent, as well as more for his honor, to brave the enemy in the field, than to wait for him behind entrenchments; an army being much ſtronger, by the ſpirit, and confidence in its own valor, which ſuch an animating conduct inſpires, than by the uncertain defence of ditches and ramparts. Nor yet did he totally raiſe the ſiege he had formed, but left a ſufficient

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſupra.

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force to continue the blockade of the caſtle of Craumers, till he ſhould return. He had not gone very far, when in the midſt of a wide and open plain, he found Stephen encamped, and pitched his own tents within a quarter of a mile of him, preparing for a battle with all the eagerneſs, that the deſire of empire and glory could excite, in a brave and youthful heart, elate with ſucceſs. Stephen alſo much wiſhed to bring the conteſt between them to a ſpeedy deciſion: but, while he and Euſtace were conſulting with William of Ipres, in whoſe affection they moſt confided, and by whoſe private advice they took all their meaſures, the earl of Arundel, having aſſembled the Engliſh nobility, and principal officers, ſpoke to this effect.

" It is now above ſixteen years, that, on
" a doubtful and diſputed claim to the crown,
" the rage of civil war has almoſt continu-
" ally infeſted this kingdom. During this
" melancholy period how much blood has
" been ſhed! What devaſtations and miſery
" have been brought on the people! The
" laws have loſt their force, the crown it's
" authority: licentiouſneſs and impunity
" have ſhaken all the foundations of public
" ſecurity. This great and noble nation
" has been delivered a prey to the baſeſt of
" foreigners, the abominable ſcum of Flan-
" ders, Brabant, and Bretagne, robbers ra-
" ther than ſoldiers, reſtrained by no laws,

" divine or human, tied to no country, ſub-
" ject to no prince, inſtruments of all tyranny,
" violence, and oppreſſion. At the ſame
" time, our cruel neighbours, the Welſh
" and the Scotch, calling themſelves allies
" or auxiliaries to the empreſs, but in reality
" enemies and deſtroyers of England, have
" broken their bounds, ravaged our borders,
" and taken from us whole provinces, which
" we never can hope to recover, while, in-
" ſtead of employing our united force againſt
" them, we continue thus madly, without
" any care of our publick ſafety or national
" honor, to turn our ſwords againſt our own
" boſoms. What benefits have we gained to
" compenſate all theſe loſſes, or what do we
" expect? When Matilda was miſtreſs of
" the kingdom, though her power was not
" yet confirmed, in what manner did ſhe
" govern? Did ſhe not make even thoſe of
" her own faction, and court, regret the
" king? Was not her pride more intolerable
" ſtill than his levity, her rapine than his
" profuſeneſs? Were any years of his reign
" ſo grievous to the people, ſo offenſive to
" the nobles, as the firſt days of her's?
" When ſhe was driven out, did Stephen
" correct his former bad conduct? Did he
" diſmiſs his odious foreign favorite? Did
" he diſcharge his lawleſs foreign hirelings,
" who had ſo long been the ſcourge and the
" reproach of England? Have not they
" lived ever ſince upon free quarter, by

" plundering our houſes and burning our
" cities? And now, to complete our miſe-
" ries, a new army of foreigners, Angevins,
" Gaſcons, Poictevins, I know not who, are
" come over with Henry Plantagenet, the
" ſon of Matilda; and many more, no doubt
" will be called to aſſiſt him, as ſoon as ever
" his affairs abroad will permit; by whoſe
" help, if he be victorious, England muſt
" pay the price of their ſervices: our lands,
" our honors, muſt be the hire of theſe ra-
" pacious invaders. But ſuppoſe we ſhould
" have the fortune to conquer for Stephen,
" what will be the conſequence? Will vic-
" tory teach him moderation? Will he learn
" from ſecurity that regard to our liberties,
" which he could not learn from danger?
" Alas! the only fruit of our good ſucceſs
" will be this; the eſtates of the earl of
" Leiceſter and others of our countrymen,
" who have now quitted the party of the
" king, will be forfeited; and new confiſ-
" cations will accrue to William of Ipres.

" But let us not hope, that, be our vic-
" tory ever ſo complete, it will give any
" laſting peace to this kingdom. Should
" Henry fall in this battle, there are two
" other brothers, to ſucceed to his claim,
" and ſupport his faction, perhaps with leſs
" merit, but certainly with as much ambi-
" tion as he. What ſhall we do then to
" free ourſelves from all theſe misfortunes?
" —Let us prefer the intereſt of our country

" to

" to that of our party, and to all thoſe paſ-
" ſions, which are apt, in civil diſſenſions,
" to inflame zeal into madneſs, and render
" men the blind inſtruments of thoſe very
" evils, which they fight to avoid. Let us
" prevent all the crimes and all the horrors
" that attend a war of this kind, in which
" conqueſt itſelf is full of calamity, and our
" moſt happy victories deſerve to be cele-
" brated only by tears. Nature herſelf is
" diſmayed, and ſhrinks back from a com-
" bat, where every blow that we ſtrike may
" murder a friend, a relation, a parent. Let
" us hearken to her voice, which commands
" us to refrain from that guilt. Is there
" one of us here, who would not think it
" a happy and glorious act, to ſave the life
" of one of his countrymen? What a felicity
" then, and what a glory, muſt it be to us
" all, if we ſave the lives of thouſands of
" Engliſhmen, that muſt otherwiſe fall in
" this battle, and in many other battles,
" which, hereafter, may be fought on this
" quarrel? It is in our power to do ſo—It
" is in our power to end the controverſy,
" both ſafely and honorably; by an amicable
" agreement; not by the ſword. Stephen
" may enjoy the royal dignity for his life,
" and the ſucceſſion may be ſecured to the
" young duke of Normandy, with ſuch a
" preſent rank in the ſtate, as befits the heir
" of the crown. Even the bittereſt enemies
" of the king muſt acknowledge, that he is

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" valiant, generous, and good-natured: his
" warmeſt friends cannot deny, that he has
" a great deal of raſhneſs and indiſcretion.
" Both may therefore conclude, that he
" ſhould not be deprived of the royal autho-
" rity, but that he ought to be reſtrained
" from a further abuſe of it; which can be
" done by no means, ſo certain and effectual,
" as what I propoſe: for thus his power
" will be tempered, by the preſence, the
" counſels, and influence of Prince Henry;
" who, from his own intereſt in the weal of
" the kingdom, which he is to inherit, will
" always have a right to interpoſe his advice,
" and even his authority, if it be neceſſary,
" againſt any future violations of our liber-
" ties; and to procure an effectual redreſs
" of our grievances, which we have hitherto
" ſought in vain. If all the Engliſh in both
" armies unite, as I hope that they may,
" in this plan of pacification, they will be
" able to give the law to the foreigners, and
" oblige both the king and the duke to con-
" ſent to it. This will ſecure the publick
" tranquillity, and leave no ſecret ſtings of
" reſentment, to rankle in the hearts of a
" ſuffering party, and produce future diſ-
" turbances. As there will be no triumph,
" no inſolence, no excluſive right to favor,
" on either ſide, there can be no ſhame, no
" anger, no uneaſy deſire of change. It will
" be the work of the whole nation; and all
" muſt wiſh to ſupport what all have eſta-
" bliſhed,

" bliſhed. The ſons of Stephen indeed may
" endeavour to oppoſe it: but their efforts
" will be fruitleſs, and muſt end very ſoon,
" either in their ſubmiſſion, or their ruin.
" Nor have they any reaſonable cauſe to
" complain. Their father himſelf did not
" come to the crown by hereditary right.
" He was elected in preference to a woman
" and an infant, who were deemed not to
" be capable of ruling a kingdom. By that
" election our allegiance is bound to him
" during his life: but neither that bond,
" nor the reaſon for which we choſe him,
" will hold, as to the choice of a ſucceſſor.
" Henry Plantagenet is now grown up to an
" age of maturity, and every way qualified
" to ſucceed to the crown. He is the
" grandſon of a king whoſe memory is dear
" to us, and *the neareſt heir male to him in*
" *the courſe of deſcent:* he appears to re-
" ſemble him in all his good qualities, and
" to be worthy to reign over the Normans
" and Engliſh, whoſe nobleſt blood, united,
" enriches his veins. Normandy has already
" ſubmitted to him with pleaſure. Why
" ſhould we now divide that dutchy from
" England, when it is ſo greatly the intereſt
" of our nobility to keep them always con-
" nected? If we had no other inducement
" to make us deſire a reconciliation between
" him and Stephen, this would be ſufficient.
" Our eſtates in both countries will by that
" means be ſecured, which otherwiſe we
" muſt

" muſt forfeit, in the one, or the other,
" while Henry remains poſſeſſed of Nor-
" mandy: and it will not be an eaſy matter
" to drive him from thence, even though
" we ſhould compel him to retire from Eng-
" land. But, by amicably compounding his
" quarrel with Stephen, we ſhall maintain
" all our intereſts, private and publick. His
" greatneſs abroad will encreaſe the power
" of this kingdom: it will make us reſpect-
" able and formidable to France: England
" will be the head of all thoſe ample domi-
" nions, which extends from the Britiſh
" ocean to the Pyrenean mountains. By
" governing, in his youth, ſo many different
" ſtates, he will learn to govern us, and
" come to the crown, after the deceaſe of
" king Stephen, accompliſhed in all the arts
" of good policy. His mother has willingly
" reſigned to him her pretenſions, or rather
" ſhe acknowledges that his are ſuperior:
" we therefore can have nothing to appre-
" hend on that ſide. In every view, our
" peace, our ſafety, the repoſe of our con-
" ſciences, the quiet and happineſs of our
" poſterity will be firmly, eſtabliſhed by the
" means I propoſe. Let Stephen continue
" to wear the crown that we gave him, as
" long as he lives; but after his death let it
" deſcend to that prince, who alone can put
" an end to our unhappy diviſions. If you
" approve my advice, and will empower me
" to treat in your names, I will imme-
" diately

" diately convey your deſires to the king and " the duke." Book I.

The earl of Arundel undoubtedly acted in concert with the principal men in both armies. His ſpeech was received with great applauſe. The impreſſion it made upon the nobles and gentry was ſoon communicated to the ſoldiers, and produced in their minds a ſudden change. Thoſe, who before had been the moſt ardent to fight, now threw down their arms, and loudly declared their wiſhes for a peace, on the foundations which the earl had marked out. Seeing theſe good diſpoſitions ſo general in them, and being ſure of a ſupport from the moſt powerful barons, he propoſed it to the king with a tone of authority, rather than of counſel. William of Ipres and his troops, ſurpriſed at this novelty, inferior in numbers to the Engliſh of their own party, and apprehending a junction of the two armies, ſtood in ſuſpenſe and ſilence, looking on the king, and waiting his orders. Aſtoniſhment, rage, and indignation choaked up the ſpeech of Euſtace. Stephen, amazed, confounded, intimidated, after ſome pauſe and conflict in his mind, yielded to an immediate ceſſation of arms, and to a conference with the duke, in order to a treaty, which he was ſure would end in nothing, but loſs and diſhonor to himſelf and his family. Vide auctores citat. ut ſupra.

The earl of Arundel then propoſed to the duke and his army what he had opened to the

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the king: but, in order to ſecure the ſucceſs of his buſineſs, he had ſent before him ſome monks and other eccleſiaſticks, to negociate, in private, with the Engliſh nobility there, and diſpoſe them to back his propoſal. He had, himſelf, a ſecret intelligence with ſome of the greateſt, and knew that the meaſure was agreeable to them, and would be ſtrongly ſupported by their concurrence. The duke at firſt was very averſe to it, and reſolved to gain or loſe all, as the fortune of war ſhould decide: for Stephen, being yet under fifty years old, and of a vigorous and hale conſtitution, might live many years: and therefore to grant ſo long a term to a reign, which Henry thought an unjuſt and violent uſurpation, ſeemed to him very hard. Nor could his ſtrong ſenſe and clear judgment be perſuaded to believe, that any ſincere or laſting peace would be procured by this means. But fearing to be abandoned by all his Engliſh friends, whom the earl of Arundel's eloquence, and ſecret intrigues, had rendered unanimous in deſiring a treaty, he at laſt was induced, though with the utmoſt reluctance, to conſent to the interview, which the king had agreed to, within a little diſtance from their two camps. They met upon the oppoſite banks of the Thames, which there is very narrow, and conferred together, a long time, without any attendants.

Vide auctores citat. ut ſupra.

It is ſaid, that they mutually complained to each other of the treachery of the barons, and

and of their inſolence in preſuming to dictate ſuch terms to their maſters. What further paſſed is unknown; but they parted without any deciſive agreement; only a ſhort ſuſpenſion of arms having been ſettled between them, which, not entirely to oppoſe the deſires of his friends, Henry had yielded to, on this advantageous and honorable condition, that the king himſelf ſhould demoliſh the caſtle of Craumers.

The greateſt obſtacle to a peace was prince Euſtace. He, who had a ſpirit as high as his birth and pretenſions, ſaw himſelf, if this plan ſhould take effect, reduced to the obſcurity of a private condition; or, at beſt, to the two earldoms of Boulogne and Mortagne; after having loſt the dutchy of Normandy, and the kingdom of England. Such a degradation appeared to him the worſt of evils; and reſentment having inflamed his natural courage to a diſregard of all danger, without knowing well by what methods to oppoſe it, he abſolutely determined not to ſubmit to it. At his father's return from the conference, he upbraided him bitterly, for having had the abject complaiſance to treat with his enemy, according to the dictates of his mutinous ſubjects. He told him, "that, by liſtening to ſuch a propoſal, "he would ſacrifice, not only his ſon, but "himſelf, to a vain ſhadow of peace, and "to the mere name of royalty, deprived of "all it's power and majeſty: that a ſucceſ-

Gerv. ut ſupra.

"for

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" ſor forced upon him, ſo injuriouſly to his " family, and to his royal dignity, would " be, in reality, his maſter and king: that " it would have been better to have died, " with his ſword in his hand, at the head " of his foreign troops, who were ſtill " faithful to him, than have timidly ſub- " mitted to ſuch an indignity: that, for " his own part, he proteſted againſt this " treaty, and would make no peace with " Henry, while he could get an arm to " ſtrike for him, in England, or in France: " nor would he ſtay any longer, to be a " witneſs of the weakneſs and ſervitude of " his father." Having thus vented his indignation he broke away ſuddenly, without deigning even to wait for any reply; and taking along with him the knights of his houſhold, and all who were particularly attached to his perſon, repaired to Cambridge. He ſtaid there ſome time, and found means to draw together, beneath his own ſtandard, ſeveral perſons of deſperate fortunes and minds, to whom civil war was a benefit and a ſecurity, deſigning, with their aſſiſtance, to act for himſelf, and render the propoſed accommodation more difficult.

The ceſſation of arms, agreed to between Stephen and Henry, being expired, the war was renewed, though not with great alacrity on either ſide, as the negotiations for peace were ſtill carried on, and the leading men, in both parties, concurred very zealouſly to promote

promote their ſucceſs. A detachment of the king's troops, commanded by William de Quercy, governor of Oxford, by the brave William Martel, and by Richard de Lucy, coming to make an incurſion into the country poſſeſſed by Henry, he put himſelf at the head of a body of forces ſent to his aſſiſtance by ſome of the biſhops, met this party on their way, attacked and defeated them, took twenty knights, and purſued the reſt as far as Oxford. After this action, his light-armed troops over-ran and pillaged the country. At their return to his camp, they brought in a great booty: but he commanded it all to be reſtored to the perſons from whom it was taken, ſaying, *It was not to plunder the people, but to deliver them from the rapine of the great, that he came into England:* words of more uſe to him than many ſuch victories, and which he moſt effectually and honorably fulfilled, during the whole courſe of his ſucceeding reign. Nor did he only gain the commons. Many of the nobility, one after another, forſook Stephen's party, and came over to his; even ſome, who had been, hitherto, moſt averſe to his cauſe: but all were deſirous of a treaty on the terms the earl of Arundel had propoſed. Nevertheleſs the ſpirit of the king, awakened by the reproaches of a ſon whom he loved, appeared to be now determined againſt the concluſion of an accommodation, ſo ignominious to himſelf, and ſo ruinous

H. Huntingd. Chron. Norm. Neubrigenſis, et Gerv. ut ſuprà.

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ruinous to his family: in which diſpoſitions he attacked the earl of Norfolk, who had declared for the duke; and laid cloſe ſiege to Ipſwich caſtle. Henry, to draw him away from that enterpriſe, beſieged the town of Stamford, which he took in a few days, and inveſted the caſtle. The garriſon there ſent notice to the king, that, if, by a certain time, he did not relieve them, they muſt be obliged to yield it up. But he refuſed, either to come to them, or ſend any ſuccours: upon which anſwer they delivered the caſtle to Henry, who marched from thence, to raiſe the ſiege of Ipſwich caſtle. He had not got far, upon his road to that fortreſs, when he received the news of it's having capitulated; a loſs which he felt with ſome regret, though certainly with much leſs than ſuch a misfortune would have cauſed, if the place had belonged to a more determined friend; the earl of Norfolk being one in whoſe fidelity neither party could put any truſt. Henry did not attempt to recover it from the king, but turned northwards again, and came before Nottingham, which he took by ſtorm, and thus kept up the reputation of his arms, which proſpered in all parts where he acted himſelf: but Nottingham caſtle being exceedingly ſtrong, both by nature and art, he would not engage himſelf, at this time, in the ſiege of it; nor did he form after this any enterpriſe; an event having happened during the courſe

courſe of theſe actions, which made ſuch operations leſs neceſſary, and greatly facilitated the treaty begun on the earl of Arundel's plan. Book I.

Euſtace, who had collected a force ſufficient to take the field, marched out from Cambridge, a little before the feaſt of St. Laurence, intending to join the king, his father, at Ipſwich; or to attempt ſomething himſelf againſt the earl of Norfolk, whoſe power in thoſe countries ſtill continued very great. When he came to St. Edmond's-bury, he demanded of the monks, belonging to that convent, a ſum of money for his men; but not obtaining any from them, he fell into a furious rage, and inſtantly leaving their houſe, commanded his ſoldiers, who were in want of ſubſiſtence, to cut down the ripe corn all round the town, particularly what belonged to the abbey, and bring it into his camp. He had ſcarce ſeen this order executed, when he was ſeized with a burning fever and frenzy, of which he died in a ſhort time. It may well be preſumed, that his diſtemper proceeded from the violent agitation his mind had been in, and from the heat of the weather at that ſeaſon of the year: but the monks did not fail to ſuppoſe that it was a judgment of heaven upon him, for having ſacrilegiouſly plundered their fields. He was of a character to make his loſs regretted by none, who had any real concern for the good of the pub-

Gerv. ut ſupra, ſub ann. 1153. Neubrig. ut ſupra.

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publick. Yet his nature was not utterly void of all virtues; but it was miſerably depraved by a bad education. He had been bred, even from his cradle, amidſt the licentiouſneſs, cruelty, and impiety of a long civil war; without proper care, in thoſe to whoſe tuition his youth was committed, to preſerve him from the contagion of ſuch peſtilent times, by oppoſing good inſtructions to evil examples. As he grew up, he became diſſolute, fierce, and intractable. A low taſte of pleaſure carried him into mean company: ſo that he waſted a great part of his time with buffoons, and all the ſcum of a looſe court or diſorderly camp; which vile ſociety debaſed his mind, and corrupted his heart. Otherwiſe he might have been capable of doing great things: for he poſſeſſed, with the activity, and courage of his father, a more determined reſolution; and diſcovered, in the earlieſt bloom of his youth, ſuch talents for war, as gained the admiration even of the oldeſt commanders. To his friends he was affable, courteous, and liberal; but his bounty was too often extended to perſons, whoſe only merit was ſerving his vices. Upon the whole, he ſeemed made to perpetuate the miſchiefs, that England endured under the reign of his father, and perhaps to encreaſe them.

V. Johan. Sariſ. Policratic. ſive de Nugis Curialium, l. vi. c. 18.

Geſt. Steph. Reg. p. 973, 974.

Johan. Sariſt. Policrat. ut ſupra.

His death removed the greateſt impediment to the peace of the kingdom; and the ſettlement of it was advanced, in a lower degree,

gree, by that of his deareſt friend, the young earl of Northampton, who alſo died, in the ſame week, of a fever. Stephen had given that lord the earldom of Huntingdon, upon the deceaſe of Henry prince of Scotland, not long before; and his apprehenſion that the duke would reſtore it to Malcolm, the eldeſt ſon of that prince, made him very averſe to any reconciliation between him and the king. Another cauſe, that might render him implacable to the duke, was a grant which the latter had made to the earl of Cheſter of ſome of his poſſeſſions, if he did not take part with him in the war againſt Stephen. Nothing ſhews more the ſpirit of the times and the character of the earl of Cheſter, than the manner in which he had treated with the duke, when that prince came to England. Notwithſtanding the bitter rancour of his heart againſt Stephen, and the engagements he had taken with Henry in Scotland, he did not declare for the latter, till by a covenant in the form of a charter, he had granted to him the city and county of Stafford, Nottingham caſtle, Derby, and Mansfield, with many great baronies. Of theſe grants ſome were abſolute, and others conditional, if the perſons, by whom they were poſſeſſed at that time, would not join with the duke. For ſuch was the miſerable ſtate of the kingdom in this inteſtine war. The barons on either ſide were equally treated as rebels by the oppoſite party. Beſides what was given

V. Jorval. p. 975. n. 10.

V. Dugdale's Baron. p. 39. ex ipſo autog. in Biblioth. Cotton. et Rymer's Fœdera, vol. i. p. 12.

to the earl of Cheſter himſelf, Henry promiſed to give to ſix of his vaſſal barons, lands of one hundred pounds annual value to each out of the eſtates he ſhould gain from his enemies. Theſe were high terms; one hundred pounds in thoſe days being equivalent, at leaſt, to fifteen hundred at preſent: but the power of the earl was ſo great, that Henry could hardly buy him at too dear a price: and as he formerly had ſold his allegiance, both to Stephen and Matilda, ſo he now bargained for it, a third time, with the duke, and at every ſale raiſed the price. But he apprehended that theſe grants would be revoked and annulled, if the earl of Arundel's propoſal ſhould be accepted. He therefore wiſhed to obſtruct the concluſion of the treaty, or at leaſt to maintain his own power independent on either prince, by acting ſeparately and only for himſelf; hoping that both would be conſtrained, by this conduct, to grant him any conditions, that he might not be an obſtacle to the peace of the kingdom, which could not be tolerably ſettled without his concurrence. But, while he was purſuing this plan, he was poiſoned by William de Peverel, whoſe lands Henry had granted to him in the abovementioned charter, *unleſs*, as the words of that deed expreſs it, *William could acquit himſelf of his wickedneſs and treaſon, by a fair tryal, in a court of juſtice.* What the nature of his treaſon was, we are not informed; but it muſt certainly have been ſome-

Gerv. Chron. ſubann. 1153.

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ſomething more heinous, than merely adhering to the party of Stephen; perhaps an attempt againſt the life of the earl, to whom he was a vaſſal. His guilty conſcience durſt not abide a legal deciſion, but prompted him to take this villainous method of preſerving his lands: for there was no kind of wickedneſs, into which the great profligacy of thoſe lawleſs times did not draw even gentlemen of birth and diſtinction. Among the many evils that attend on civil war, one of the worſt is the univerſal corruption of manners, the hardneſs of heart, and familiarity with the moſt horrid crimes, which it ſeldom fails to produce. The power of government being loſt, all the bonds of ſociety are quickly diſſolved; the paſſions of men become the rules of their actions; and fear itſelf makes them flagitious and cruel. Some virtues indeed, which would otherwiſe be concealed, may be called out into action by ſuch commotions: but even theſe are often forced to accommodate themſelves to the ſpirit of the times, further than the ſtrict rules of integrity would allow in any other circumſtances: ſo that nothing can be more pernicious to the morals of a nation than civil war, except that deſpotiſm which turns even the power of government to the deſtruction of virtue.

The earl of Cheſter being thus taken off, immediately after the death of the earl of Northampton, and of Prince Euſtace, there remained no other to oppoſe the earl of

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Arundel's ſcheme. The deſire of quiet, and a relief from the miſeries they had ſuffered ſo long, was enough to recommend it to the body of the people, who generally look no further in matters of ſtate, than to their preſent eaſe and ſecurity. But ſome of the nobles and biſhops had other views, of a more refined policy. The entire defeat, either of Stephen, or Henry, they thought would render the conqueror a more abſolute maſter of them and the kingdom, than they deſired: whereas, ſo long as one of them was afraid of the other, and the royal authority was divided between them, it could not be vigorouſly exerted by either; but each muſt be forced to depend upon his faction. Thus they propoſed to govern both, and prevent any puniſhment of former offences, which moſt of them had abundant reaſon to fear, or any controul upon their future behaviour, which certainly they were little diſpoſed to endure. The biſhop of Wincheſter acted wholly upon this ſyſtem.

H. Huntingd. f. 227. n. 30.

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If the abilities of that prelate had not been very great, his frequent change of party muſt have deſtroyed his credit and influence: but he managed ſo ſkilfully, that, which way ſoever his own intereſt led him, he ſeemed only to follow that of the church. A conſtant pretence of zeal for the cauſe of religion excuſed and ſanctified his ambition, his treachery, his frequent breach of the moſt ſolemn oaths and all the obligations of duty

or

or nature. He had indeed, for ſome time paſt, been under a cloud, and much humbled by the mortifications he had received from the enmity of Eugenius the Third: but the death of that pontiff, which happened in this year, having delivered him from that perſecution, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was obliged to admit him into a participation of all eccleſiaſtical power in the kingdom. The ſagacity, ſubtilty, and vigour of his mind, with the advantage of his high birth and great riches, gave him ſuch an influence over the clergy, and by them over the people, that, ſo long as the two parties were evenly balanced, he was able to dictate to both. It was therefore his intereſt to keep them in that ſtate, and to hinder a deciſion, which would make either the king, or Henry, his maſter; eſpecially, as he had cauſe to apprehend the reſentment of each of thoſe princes, for his paſt behaviour. There is good reaſon to think that the earl of Arundel's ſcheme was projected by him: ſince one can hardly account, upon any other motive, for his having oppoſed the crowning of his nephew, or taking ſo active a part, as we find that he did, in negociating this agreement. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, likewiſe joined with him; and the earl of Arundel ſeems to have left the conduct of it entirely to them: for they alone are mentioned, as mediators, on this occaſion, between the two princes, and, if we may judge by one of the articles impoſed upon Henry, the

V. Ger. Chron. et Diceto, ſub. ann. 1153. H. Huntingd. f. 228. St. Dun. hiſt. contin. per J. P. Haguſt. p. 282.

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Neubrigenſis, l. i. c. 30.

biſhop of Wincheſter had the chief management of the treaty in his own hands. The main difficulty of it conſiſted in ſettling what ſhare of preſent power ſhould be allowed to the duke in the government of the kingdom: for, in reality, there remained none about the ſucceſſion; William, the only legitimate ſon of Stephen then living, not being ſupported, as his brother had been, by an affinity with the king of France, nor having the ſame invincible courage, deſperately to oppoſe ſuch an accommodation, and keep up the drooping ſpirit of his father. The queen, who would have been grieved to ſee her poſterity deprived of the crown, and might, by her magnanimity, have animated her huſband, had died before Euſtace; and Stephen, in looſing her, had loſt no little part of his ſtrength: for ſhe had been generally beloved by the people. His mind, oppreſſed and dejected with ſorrow for her death, ſought preſent eaſe, and would not ſacrifice this to the future greatneſs of his family, which the young man, who now remained the ſole heir of that family, was unfit to maintain. He therefore conſented that Henry ſhould be acknowledged as heir to the crown, with certain ſtipulations in favor of William; but thought that admitting him, by the conditions of a treaty, to a ſhare of the government in his own life-time, was in effect to depoſe himſelf. And certainly he would have acted with much better ſenſe, if he had firmly perſevered in refuſing that point, which was, in truth, improper to be granted;

granted; any diviſion of the royal authority being a dangerous weakening of government, and naturally productive of faction, diſorder, and diſcord. But Henry would not be contented with the proſpect of a crown in reverſion, and judged, very prudently, that, even in order to ſecure to himſelf that reverſion, it was neceſſary to inſiſt on ſome preſent authority, and not leave the entire direction of the kingdom, which he was to inherit, in an enemy's hands. Nor did the mere ſettlement of the ſucceſſion on him, after the death of the king, anſwer the purpoſe of thoſe who managed this treaty. The impoſſibility of adjuſting an article of ſo delicate and important a nature, in ſuch a manner as to ſatisfy both the king and the duke, retarded the concluſion of the peace for ſome months after the death of Prince Euſtace: but at laſt, being overcome by his brother's perſuaſions, and fearing to be left by all his nobility, Stephen conſented to accept ſuch terms, as that prelate was able or willing to gain for him; and Henry, having weighed the ſolid advantages, which he was ſure to obtain by this agreement, againſt the doubtful ſucceſs of a war, to which he ſaw his friends averſe, agreed not unwillingly, or, at leaſt with no appearance of diſcontent, to what was propoſed. All being previouſly ſettled between them, a great council was ſummoned, *by writs from both*, to meet them at Wincheſter, about the end of November, in the year eleven hundred and fifty three, but (pro-

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(probably by the management of the biſhop of Wincheſter, to keep the treaty more in his own hands) the meeting was chiefly compoſed of eccleſiaſtics. In this imperfect parliament a convention was made, between the two princes, upon the foundation of the earl of Arundel's plan; which being confirmed by the aſſent, and even by the oaths of all preſent, the king and duke went together to London, amidſt the acclamations of the people, that ſeemed to be equally paid to both; but in reality Henry triumphed, and Stephen was led captive. Yet, as the proceedings at Wincheſter might well have been queſtioned, becauſe that aſſembly was little better than a ſynod of churchmen, a more regular parliament was ſoon afterwards ſummoned, to meet the king and the duke at Oxford, where what had been ſettled in the other was confirmed. We have among our records the charter, or declaration, by which Stephen notified to all his ſubjects the agreement he had concluded with the duke: and it is witneſſed by all the Engliſh biſhops, with ſome of the principal noblemen of each faction. He there ſays, that *he had conſtituted Henry, duke of Normandy, his ſucceſſor in the kingdom of England, and his heir by hereditary right; and ſo had given and confirmed the ſaid kingdom to him and his heirs.* That, in return for the *honor* ſo done him, and for the *donation* and *confirmation* ſo made to him, the duke had done homage to him (the king) and had ſworn that he would be faithful to him, and defend his

See Reymer's Fœdera, vol. i. p. 13. et Brompt. Chron. 1037, 1038, 1039. See alſo Appendix.

his life and honor to the utmoſt of his power, according to the agreement contained in this charter. And he (the king) had reciprocally ſworn to the duke, that he would defend his life and honor, to the utmoſt of his power, and maintain him, in all reſpects, and againſt all men, *as his ſon and heir*.

Upon theſe clauſes it is obſervable, that there is, in the wording of them, a remarkable care to avoid an acknowledgment of any ſuch title to the crown in the duke, as would have impeached that of Stephen. His right of ſucceſſion is grounded upon a kind of *adoption* of him made by that king; and the kingdom is declared to be *given* and *confirmed* to him and his heirs, not in virtue of his birth, but as in conſequence of the voluntary *act* and *donation* of Stephen, who *conſtitutes* him *his heir*, and conſiders him *as his ſon*. The word *confirmed* may ſeem indeed to contain ſome intimation of a right prior to this act; but it ſtands ſo connected with others that imply a contrary ſenſe, as not eaſily to admit of ſuch a conſtruction. There was certainly a great deal of art in this method to colour over what Stephen was conſtrained to ſubmit to, and ſave his honor, as far as appearances and fictions could ſave it.

The charter, or declaration, goes on to ſay, that William, Stephen's ſon, had done homage to Henry and ſworn fealty to him; and

and that he, in return, had granted to that prince all the honors and lands, in England, or Normandy, or any other country, which his father had enjoyed before he was king; or which he himſelf had acquired by his marriage with the daughter and heireſs of the late earl of Surrey; or which his father had given him ſince he came to the crown: all which he was to hold immediately of the duke, with ſome reſervations to the rights of other perſons, as ſpecified in the charter. And, *further to confirm the favor and affection of the king to the duke*, ſome additional honors and lands were granted by the latter to William. It is alſo declared, that the duke had confirmed all *grants*, or *reſtitutions*, made by the king to the *church*: that ſuch earls or barons of the duke's party, as had never done homage before to Stephen, did it now, and ſwore fealty to him, under the limitations contained in the preſent conventions between the two princes: and that thoſe of the ſaid party, who had done homage to him before, took a new oath of fealty to him, as their liege lord, and ſwore, that, in caſe the duke ſhould ever violate the agreement then made, they would entirely quit his ſervice, till he had corrected ſuch errors or faults in his conduct.

On this clauſe it may be obſerved, that thoſe earls or barons, *who had never done homage to Stephen*, were probably the ſons of ſome

ſome who had died in the ſervice of Matilda during the courſe of the war; ſuch as the earls of Gloceſter and Hereford. For it appears, that, when Stephen granted his charter at Oxford, all the barons of England did homage to him; as I have already related: but, as the civil war laſted long, there might be many to whom honors and lands had deſcended during the courſe of it, who, being engaged with Matilda, and therefore not acknowledging Stephen as king, had taken no oaths to him before this agreement; and the words of this declaration expreſs, that it was *in conſideration of the honor done by him to Henry their lord* that they now became his vaſſals. I underſtand, from what follows, that *theſe* perſons alſo ſwore, that, if the duke ſhould ever break his engagements, they would not ſtand by him, unleſs upon his amendment.

The declaration ſays further, that the king's ſon would, in like manner, by the advice of the holy church, withhold from the duke the ſervice, which, as his vaſſal, he was bound to perform to him, if he ſhould depart from what he had there promiſed: and that the earls and barons of the king's party had done *liege homage* to the duke, ſaving the fidelity they owed to the king, as long as he ſhould live and hold the kingdom, under the ſame condition, with reſpect to the ſaving clauſe, viz. that if he, the king,

king, ſhould ever break his engagements, they would all ceaſe to ſerve him, till ſuch time as he had corrected his errors or faults.

Proper ſecurities were given to the duke, that the forts of the kingdom ſhould be delivered up to him after the death of the king: and they agreed to act jointly, againſt any governors of the caſtles and forts belonging to the crown, who ſhould prove contumacious or rebellious againſt them.

The archbiſhops, biſhops, and abbots of England, by the command of the king, ſwore fealty to the duke: and it was agreed that all others, who ſhould, from that time forwards, be made biſhops or abbots, ſhould likewiſe take the ſame oath. The archbiſhops and biſhops of either party took upon themſelves to reſtrain and correct, by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, the king, or the duke, if either of them ſhould violate the aforeſaid conventions; for the performance of which, the mother of the duke, his wife, and his brothers, were alſo to engage, and together with them, as many more of his relations or friends, as could be prevailed upon to pledge themſelves for him.

Laſtly, the king declares, that he would act in the affairs of the kingdom by the advice of the duke; but would exerciſe royal juſtice in the whole realm of England, *as well in that part of it which belonged to the duke, as in that which belonged to himſelf.*

Theſe laſt words do not mean that the kingdom was divided between Stephen and Henry; no mention being made of ſuch a partition in any ancient writer, nor in any other article of this declaration: but they muſt be underſtood to ſignify ſuch parts of the kingdom as were in the power of the king or the duke, by being in the hands of their friends and adherents. It is remarkable that no change was permitted to be made by either prince, in the government of the counties, of the cities, of the towns, or of any ſtrong places; but it was ſtipulated in the treaty, that all ſhould be left as they were before it was made, only under obligations of fealty to both: ſo that the ſtrength of the two factions continued unaltered; and Henry's party being the ſtronger, he was, in every thing but the name of king, ſuperior to Stephen. And when the latter engaged to act in the affairs of the kingdom by the advice of the duke, he really put the whole government into his hands, though he reſerved to himſelf the ſupreme adminiſtration of juſtice: for that reſerve did not deſtroy the right of the duke to interfere in all councils and acts of ſtate, and to complain that the compact was broken by the king, if his advice was not followed. His complaints indeed would have ſignified little, if he had not been able to procure by force the redreſs he deſired: but in this circumſtance a right to adviſe was a power to command.

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mand. Accordingly, we find in ſome of the writers, who lived in, or very near to thoſe times, theſe expreſſions; that, in conſequence of this treaty, *all the affairs of the kingdom were determined by Henry*; and that it was ſettled between Stephen and him *that he ſhould direct the affairs of the kingdom:* nay, one of them ſays that *the king transferred his own rights and power to the duke, and reſerved to himſelf, during his life, only the image of the royal dignity.*

V. Hoveden, ſub ann. 1153.

J. Haguſtald, p. 282. Diceto Imag. Hiſt. ſub ann. 1153.

There were alſo four, ſeparate and ſecret articles, agreed on at Wincheſter, and not publiſhed by Stephen in this declaration, but diſtinctly mentioned by ſome of our ancient hiſtorians; viz. *that Henry ſhould defer to the biſhop of Wincheſter, as to a father, in the buſineſs of the kingdom: that the king ſhould reſume what had been alienated to the nobles, or uſurped by them, of the royal demeſne: that all the caſtles built in this reign ſhould be pulled down: and that all foreign troops ſhould be ſent out of the kingdom.*

V. J. Haguſt. ut ſupra.

V. Diceto ut ſupra. M. Paris, p. 61.

The firſt of theſe articles ſhews how neceſſary Henry thought it, at this time, to pay a particular court to the biſhop of Wincheſter, who, according to his uſual policy, eaſily yielded himſelf to any revolution, but with a conſtant view to the advancement, or, at leaſt, the ſecurity, of his own power. Yet, in this inſtance, Henry ſeems to have been

V. J. Haguſt. et Diceto ut ſupra.

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been the better politician: for he gave him only fair words, but really placed his whole confidence in the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and by the aſſiſtance of that prelate ſecured to himſelf the clergy of England.

Upon the article concerning reſumption of lands it muſt be obſerved, that it extended only to the grants made to *laymen*; the biſhops having taken care that all made to the *church* ſhould be allowed and confirmed: as appears by an expreſs article in the king's declaration. The church in thoſe days drew every thing to itſelf, and let nothing return.

The two laſt articles were eſſentially neceſſary to the peace of the kingdom. How intolerable a grievance the armies of foreigners introduced by both parties, though firſt by Stephen, had been to the whole nation, I have already ſet forth. Much has alſo been ſaid of the miſchiefs which had ariſen from the great number of forts and caſtles built in this reign. One of the contemporary hiſtorians affirms, that they were no fewer than eleven hundred and fifteen; moſt of which had been made the perpetual retreats, and ſtrong-holds, of rapine, luſt, and all kinds of enormities: nor could there be ever any hope of a ſettled tranquillity or an orderly government, while theſe aſylums of diſobedience were ſuffered to remain.

Diceto ut ſuq; pra.

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The whole nation therefore desired to free themselves from this evil, and likewise from all foreign troops, as soon as peace should be restored; and both the articles abovementioned were presently afterwards published and confirmed, by an edict of the great council, or (to use a more modern phrase) by act of parliament.

V. Diceto ut supra. Chron. Norm. p. 989.

Other regulations were made, for the restoring of private estates, that had been taken away by force, to their right owners; for the reforming of the coin; for the repeopling of the country; and for the establishing of justice, good order, and commerce, again in the kingdom.

Huntingdon, f. 228. Gervase, Diceto, ut supra, Neubrig. l. i. c. 30.

Thus was this extraordinary agreement concluded, and an apparent calm succeeded to the storms, which had so long and so violently agitated the nation. Some face of a civil government was now restored: the laws revived: the king was obeyed: Henry paid him all external forms of respect; and others were forced to it by the example and authority of that prince. But this shew of amity did not last above two or three months. Stephen had some about him, whose interest was too much affected by the treaty, not to excite them to employ all their influence with him, to make him break it: and it was not hard to find arguments, by which one of so flexible and inconstant a nature might be

be perſuaded, that he ought not to keep it. They repreſented to him, that, if he diſcharged his foreign troops, he would deprive himſelf of the firmeſt part of his ſtrength; and the remainder, which he had found ſo diſloyal, would bear no proportion to that of Henry. The diſmiſſion of them would indeed be a popular act; but the popularity of it would not light upon him. Henry would have the honor of having compelled him to part with them: and it would be proper to conſider, in what a ſituation his other conceſſions had already put this young man, and how he might uſe the advantages he had gained, if his ambition ſhould be equal to his power. Every day would augment his force. The eyes of all men would be turned towards him, and from Stephen. Their hopes, which are the ſtrongeſt attachments to bind their fidelity to a prince, would all go to Henry. Their diſcontents would redound to his benefit. He alone would be applied to for the redreſs of every grievance, real, or ſuppoſed. The ill humour of the diſappointed, the turbulence of the factious, the wants of the indigent, the ambition of the great, the inconſtancy of the vulgar, would naturally draw the whole nation to him, and leave the king without ſubjects. From all this they inferred, that Stephen ought on no account to part with his mercenaries, but ſhould elude that article of the treaty, keep all his ſtrength as entire as he

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poſſibly could, uſe all arts to encreaſe it, and wait for opportunities, which time might afford, to break the diſhonorable and burthenſome chains, he had been forced to put on. Theſe arguments being agreeable to his own ſecret thoughts, could not fail to make a great impreſſion upon him, and he was checked by no ſcruples, having been accuſtomed to violate the moſt ſolemn engagements. His mercenaries therefore were retained, and ſeveral caſtles, which were in the cuſtody of his friends, continued undemoliſhed, againſt the faith he had given to the duke, and with a manifeſt purpoſe to maintain his own faction in their full ſtrength; while Henry's party was weakened by the loſs of many ſtrong places, which had been pulled down, in conformity to the treaty of Wincheſter; and by his having diſmiſſed all the foreigners engaged in his ſervice. The duke, alarmed at this, procured a new parliament to aſſemble at Dunſtable, where, with great modeſty, but with proper force, he complained of the king for having violated the agreement between them, in points of ſuch moment; and deſired a ſincere and complete execution of it, without any further delay. Stephen, however, found ſome ſpecious excuſes, to put it off; and Henry thought fit, though very unwillingly, to receive thoſe excuſes, rather than come to an open rupture with his new *father* ſo ſoon: the ſtate of his foreign affairs, which began now

now to require his preſence abroad, making him afraid of being too long detained in this iſland, if he ſhould draw the ſword in reſentment of theſe proceedings. But he neglected no caution to ſecure himſelf from the clouds he ſaw gathering about him; and while nothing was openly talked of, but union and peace, diſtruſt, the fore-runner of civil war, was diſpoſing both parties to overturn an agreement, founded on principles of too much refinement, and held together by too weak a cement, to laſt very long. It ſeems to have been copied long afterwards, in the accord made by parliament, and by the chiefs of both factions, between Henry the Sixth and the duke of York. That was quickly broken; and yet it was more likely to have laſted than this; Henry the Sixth being a man of a much weaker ſpirit than Stephen. But, in this inſtance, if a war had enſued, the event of the conteſt would, in all probability, have proved fatal to Stephen: for Henry had now almoſt the whole nation attached to his intereſts, both by their oaths and affections. The quarrel would have been ſolely imputed to the king, and he would have appeared to have made it from the moſt odious cauſe, viz. the breach of thoſe articles which the nobility, clergy, and people of England, were moſt deſirous to ſee performed, not for the ſake of the duke, but of themſelves; for their own ſafety, and honor. And though, by faithfully execut-

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ing theſe parts of the treaty, Henry had loſt a conſiderable ſtrength, yet his gain from it, would have greatly exceeded his loſs. For a union of the Engliſh, ſupported by the ſpiritual arms of the church, which would have been employed againſt Stephen and all who adhered to him, in caſe of a rupture apparently commenced by his fault, would undoubtedly have done the duke much more ſervice, than he could have drawn from the caſtles he had demoliſhed, or the foreigners he had diſmiſſed. A prince, who dares venture to throw himſelf wholly upon the affection of his country, is much more likely to have ſucceſs, and will be much leſs embarraſſed if he ſucceeds, than he who relies on any foreign ſtrength. But it would have been always in the power of Henry, if he had found that he really ſtood in need of ſuch aid, to bring over reinforcements from his foreign dominions, without any offence to the Engliſh; who, in that caſe, would have laid all the blame of the neceſſity, on the king, not on him. So that every way, if the war had been renewed, he muſt have been ſuperior to Stephen.

Gerv. Chron. ſub ann. 1154.

If we may believe Gervaſe of Canterbury, ſome of the mercenaries conſpired to aſſaſſinate Henry; William of Blois, Stephen's ſon, being privy to the plot, which was to have been executed upon the road between Dover and Canterbury, as Henry was returning with the king from a conference, held

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at Dover with the earl and counteſs of Flanders. The ſame author ſays, that William breaking his leg, by a fall from his horſe on Barham Down, Henry was ſaved by that accident; which having diſconcerted and ſtopped the conſpirators, he happily got ſome notice of their deſign: upon which he immediately went to London, and there taking ſhip paſſed over to Normandy, before theſe ruffians had time to reſume their conſpiracy, and put his life again in danger. But the credit of this ſtory ſeems doubtful; as none of the mercenaries were proſecuted by Henry on that account, when they were in his power, after the death of Stephen; and as we find that he then treated William of Blois with great kindneſs; which he would hardly have done, if there had been any evidence, or even a probable ſuſpicion, of his having been guilty of ſo foul a treaſon. Nor is it likely that ſo young a man ſhould have engaged in ſuch an action, without the knowledge of his father, whom even Gervaſe of Canterbury does not accuſe of having been acquainted with the conſpiracy. The duke's departure from England may be accounted for, by the ſtate of his foreign affairs in that conjuncture: and it ſeems, at leaſt, very certain, that if he did haſten it, in conſequence of ſome alarm of this nature, he afterwards found no proof ſufficient to condemn any of the perſons accuſed, even in his own judgment.

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Scotland had taken no part in all theſe tranſactions, being diſabled from giving any aſſiſtance to Henry by the death of David the Firſt. That king had died in the year eleven hundred and fifty three, within leſs than a twelvemonth after the deceaſe of Prince Henry, his ſon; during which time his attention had been wholly employed in ſettling the ſucceſſion, and other affairs of importance within his own kingdom. The loſs of theſe two princes, who were the ſupport and glory of their country, was much bewailed by the Scotch. In juſtice, in fortitude, and all royal virtues, the father had equalled the greateſt kings; and the ſon had promiſed to equal the father: nor did they leſs reſemble one anothor in the piety, purity, and ſanctity of their lives. Neither of them was ever ſo much as ſuſpected of an unlawful amour; though David, after the death of Matilda, his conſort, whom he paſſionately loved, had remained a widower above twenty years. He was the firſt king of Scotland, who (to uſe the expreſſion of William of Malmſbury) *having been poliſhed by his education and familiarity in the Engliſh court, had rubbed off all the ruſt of the ancient Scotch barbariſm*, and likewiſe had endeavoured to poliſh his people: for which purpoſe, ſoon after his acceſſion to the crown, he granted an exemption, for three years, from all taxes, to as many of his ſubjects, as, in their houſes, their tables, and their dreſs, would be more elegant than the

V. Hoveden, ſubann. 1152, 1153. par. i. Ann. Waverl. ſubann. 1153. Buchanan. Dav. I. V. Neubrig. l. i. c. 23. Malmſb. l. v. c. 10. f. 89. de Hen. I. Buchan. ut ſupra. J Haguſt. ſubann. 1154.

the reſt of their countrymen, according to the modes then practiſed in England. But, at the ſame time, he took care, that by refining their manners he might not corrupt them: for he reſtrained all luxury, and baniſhed out of Scotland all epicures, and ſuch as ſtudied arts to provoke the appetite: ſo that his people learned from him a ſtrict moral diſcipline, together with the graces of a decent politeneſs; leſſons that are ſeldom taught to a nation by the ſame maſter! He drew to his court many knights and barons of England, from whom ſeveral noble families in Scotland are deſcended. It appears too, that he occaſionally employed them in his army; which might well have excited a national jealouſy in his ſubjects: and that it did not is a great proof of the affection they had for him, and of their extraordinary confidence in his good intentions. But, amidſt the encomiums made on him equally by the Scotch and Engliſh writers, the former have blamed him for an exceſſive profuſeneſs in his bounty to the church. And indeed he went too far: for, beſides adding four biſhopricks to the ſix that he found endowed by his predeceſſors, he built and repaired a great number of monaſteries, and for the ſupport of theſe donations alienated ſo much of the lands of the crown, that he impoveriſhed all his ſucceſſors; which made king James the Firſt of Scotland ſay, not unwittily, that *he was a ſore ſaint for the crown*. Yet this was a fault,

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fault, not of the man, but of the religion in which he was educated: the piety of a prince, in the notions of thoſe times, being meaſured by the extent of his prodigality to the church. David has alſo been blamed by ſome Engliſh hiſtorians, on account of the cruelties committed by his forces in their incurſions into England. But they themſelves own, that he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to reſtrain their barbarity; and therefore it ſeems that both he and Malcolm, his father, againſt whom an accuſation of the ſame nature is brought, were more unfortunate than criminal in it; the ferocity of their troops overcoming the gentleneſs of their own diſpoſitions, and all that their diſcipline could do to tame it. Upon the whole, he was one of the very few princes ſainted by Rome who deſerve a place in the catalogue of good and great kings. The Scotch were the more afflicted at his death, and that of his ſon, becauſe his grandſon, who ſucceeded to his crown, was under age. But Macduff earl of Fife, who had the guardianſhip of the young king, named Malcolm the Fourth, and all the nobility, to whoſe care and affection David had, on his death-bed, reccommended that prince, maintained the kingdom free from inteſtine diſorders; and wiſely avoided to intermeddle any further in the diſſenſions of England; only deſiring to preſerve, if they could, what had been gained from that country in the late reign. Nor had Stephen the leiſure to give them

them any disturbance, either before, or after the treaty of Winchester: so that they kept possession of the three northern countries, as long as he lived.

A. D. 1154. Henry arrived in Normandy a little before Easter in the year eleven hundred and fifty four. His interests there had not suffered much by his absence. Though Louis, in order to stop his design upon England, had threatened a renewal of the war in those parts, yet when he found that his departure had not left either that dutchy, or Anjou, or any province of Aquitaine, without a strength sufficient to defend them, he was not very forward to undertake any enterprize of moment against them; contenting himself with burning a small market town, and one of the suburbs of Vernon in Normandy: but afterwards, being strengthened by aid from the earl of Flanders, he laid siege to the castle. As Henry was nephew to the countess of Flanders, one should rather have expected that her husband would have taken part with him in this war; but, either he preferred the friendship of Louis, or thought himself bound to assist him as a vassal. Nevertheless, after the siege had lasted a fortnight, he resolved to draw off his forces, as having fulfilled the time of service required by his tenures. Louis, upon this, must have raised the siege with disgrace, if he had not found means of corrupting the governor, Richard

Chron. Norm. from. p. 987. to 991.

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de Vernon, who treacherouſly ſurrendered to him the caſtle and town. He then quitted Normandy, and did not return till September, when all he performed was ſetting fire, by ſurprize, to an unfortified quarter of the town of Verneuil. Nor had he made any further attempt againſt that dutchy, or any other dominion belonging to Henry, at the time when that prince came over from England; having been wholly taken up with the pleaſures and pomps of his new marriage, which was conſummated by him, in the beginning of this year eleven hundred and fifty four, with Conſtantia the daughter of Alphonſo the Eighth, king of Caſtile: who, from his ſuperiority over the other Spaniſh kings, and his victories over the Moors, had aſſumed the high title of Emperor of Spain. But he ſecretly intrigued with ſome nobles of Aquitaine, and excited them to a revolt, which was eaſily done; the nature of their government affording perpetual matter of diſcord between them and their duke, and the heat of their temper inflaming all differences into a war. Henry delayed not a moment to go into Aquitaine: for he well underſtood that any ſuch diſorders, however inconſiderable they may appear, will ſoon become dangerous, if they are not attended to in their firſt beginnings; and that the preſence of a ſovereign is ſometimes of more uſe to appeaſe them than his arms. The rebels were ſtruck with fear at his coming

V. Chron. Norm. ut ſup. Diceto Imag. hiſt. ſub ann. 1151. Vincent. Belvacen. ſub eodem anno.

coming among them, and quickly ſubmitted; the contagion of rebellion having been ſtopped by his great diligence, before it had ſpread very far: ſo that, tranquillity being reſtored in thoſe provinces within a few months, he went back into Normandy, and renewed his negotiations for a peace with Louis, or rather continued them, and preſſed their concluſion. For, as that monarch had made no attack upon Normandy during the troubles in Aquitaine, it is probable he was much diſpoſed to a peace, but waited till he had ſeen how theſe would end, before he took his reſolution. The death of Euſtace facilitated the treaty; Louis being no longer embarraſſed with the claim and complaints of a brother in law, whom he was aſhamed to forſake. An unwillingneſs to leave his bride was alſo a motive, to make him incline the more to peaceful counſels. Nor did Henry neglect to ſooth him by the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of reſpect for his perſon, and zeal for his ſervice; which wrought ſo much on his eaſy diſpoſition, that he forgot all the anger he had conceived againſt that prince on account of his marriage; and in the month of Auguſt, this year, a treaty of peace was concluded, to Henry's great ſatisfaction. For Louis reſtored to him Neufmarché and Vernon, the only towns he had loſt, on condition of his paying the moderate ſum of two thouſand marks, in conſideration of the charge which the king had ſuſtained,

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in taking, fortifying, and keeping thoſe places. No part of Aquitaine was yielded by the duke; nor were any advantages obtained by Louis for Geoffry Plantagenet, or any of his other confederates. Thus was that ſtorm, which had threatened Henry with total deſtruction, moſt happily laid, without any loſs to him in all his dominions on the continent! And by means of this peace, he was enabled to reſiſt any civil commotions, which might again break out in England, with the whole ſtrength of thoſe territories; or at leaſt he was now freed from any apprehenſions of danger to them, if he ſhould be obliged by new troubles, or other affairs of importance to return into that iſland: an advantage ſo great, that, if he had bought it at the price of a province, it would not have coſt him too dear. Never, indeed, did the policy of King Henry the Firſt draw him out of a difficult and dangerous war with more glory; nor ever was that monarch more revered for his wiſdom, than his grandſon was at this time. The crown of England, which he had effectually ſecured to himſelf, caſt an additional ſplendor upon him. He was alſo very happy in his domeſtick life. Eleanor, in the ſecond year of their marriage, had brought him a ſon, and was now again big with child. But, as all human felicity muſt have allays, he had but juſt concluded his peace with Louis, when he fell dangerouſly ill. His youth and the ſtrength of his conſtitution pre-

preſerved him; and, having recovered his health, he immediately led an army into the French Vexin, to reduce one of the barons belonging to that province, who had taken up arms againſt Louis. This was an acceptable ſervice to that prince, and helped to conſolidate the friendſhip between them, which Henry deſired to render as firm as he could: for peace alone, without amity, would not anſwer his purpoſe, by leaving him at full liberty to apply all his attention to his Engliſh affairs. He therefore moſt willingly performed this act of feudal obedience: nor did it coſt him much trouble; for the baron ſubmitted peaceably to his mediation, and was reconciled by him to the king, on terms that ſatisfied both. From thence he went to beſiege a caſtle, which had revolted againſt him in Normandy, for what reaſon we are not told; but moſt probably on account of a reſumption of grants, which he had begun, about this time, to make in that dutchy. While he was employed in this ſiege he received intelligence of Stephen's death.

Chron. Norm. ut ſuprà.

That prince, from the time of their parting till the feaſt of St. Michael, had been taken up in a progreſs through ſome of the counties remote from London, affecting to ſhew himſelf in all the ſtate of a king to his ſubjects, after ſo long an eclipſe of his majeſty; and ſo far exerting the royal authority with real advantage to himſelf and his people, that he cauſed

Gerv. Chron. ſub ann. 1154. Neubrig. l. i. c. 32.

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ſeveral caſtles, built during his reign, and which were become dens of thieves and receptacles of villains of every kind, to be burnt to the ground before his eyes: but ſtill he ſpared many others, which his own friends were poſſeſſed of, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances Henry had made on that account. One of thoſe which he thought fit to demoliſh in Yorkſhire was with great contumacy held out againſt him, by Philip de Tolleville, who imagined it ſo ſtrong, by it's ſituation encloſed with rivers, marſhes, and woods, by the goodneſs of the works, the plentiful ſtores of proviſion, and the courage of the garriſon, who were all perſons of deſperate fortunes like himſelf, that the reducing of it would be a work of more time and labour, than Stephen would be willing to beſtow upon it. But that prince aſſembling a great army from all the neighbouring counties, in addition to the force he had with him before, took it by aſſault, in a few days. This was the laſt memorable act of his life. For on the twenty fifth of October, in the year of our Lord eleven hundred and fifty four, he died of the piles and of an iliac paſſion, in a convent at Dover, to which town he had gone to meet the earl of Flanders, who deſired a ſecond conference with him, the ſubject of which we are not told by any hiſtorian. His death was unlooked for, both by his friends and his enemies, as he was then but in the fiftieth year of his age, and a man of great ſtrength,

ſtrength, not addicted to any exceſs or intemperance. He left but two ligitimate children, William of Blois and a daughter whoſe name was Mary. Some authors ſay he had two, and others three, natural ſons; one of whom, named Gervaſe, was abbot of Weſtminſter: another, named Ranulph, is ſaid to have been chamberlain to Henry the Second: probably the other died young; for that any proviſion was made for him I cannot diſcover.

The valor of this king was much the moſt ſhining part of his character. In the field of battle he was a hero, though every where elſe an ordinary man. But even his military abilities were chiefly confined to the uſe of his ſword and battle-axe. The extent of his genius was not proportioned to a great plan of action: his foreſight was ſhort and imperfect, his diſcipline looſe, and his whole conduct in war that of an alert partiſan, rather than of a diſcreet and judicious commander.

He had in his nature ſome amiable virtues, as generoſity, clemency, and affability, which, under the direction of wiſdom and juſtice, would have given him a place among the beſt of our kings: but for want of thoſe lights to guide and rule them, they were unworthily, weakly, and hurtfully employed. His mind was very active, and always puſhing him on

to bold undertakings, in which he ſeldom proved ſucceſsful: for ſetting out wrong, and having left the ſtrait path of honor and virtue, he got into a labyrinth of perplexed and crooked meaſures, out of which he never afterwards could extricate himſelf, either with reputation, or ſafety.

The times, and circumſtances, in which he was placed, required a ſteady, calm, and reſolute prudence: but he acted only by ſtarts, and from the violent impulſe of ſome preſent paſſion; always too eager for the object in view, and yet too lightly changing his courſe; too warm in his attachments, and too impetuous in his reſentments.

The guilt of his uſurpation was aggravated by perjury, and by the blackeſt ingratitude to his uncle, King Henry, from whom he had received ſuch obligations, as, to a mind endued with a right ſenſe of honor, would have been no leſs binding than the oaths he had taken. This was a ſtain on his character, which even the merit of a good government could not have effaced: but his was ſo bad, that it might have expelled a lawful king from an hereditary throne. Indeed the weakneſs of his title, and the too great obligations he had to the clergy in his election, were incumbrances that hung very heavy upon him, and the original cauſes of all his troubles. Yet againſt both theſe difficulties,

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uneaſy as they were, he might have found a reſource in the affection of his people. Henry the Firſt, in the beginning of his reign, was no leſs indebted to the clergy than he, nor was his title more clear: notwithſtanding which he maintained himſelf in the throne, and kept the church in due obedience, by a government popular without meanneſs, and ſtrong without violence. But bribes and a ſtanding army of the moſt odious foreign mercenaries were the wretched ſupports, on which his ſucceſſor leaned to ſecure a precarious and unnatural power. Inſtead of gradually trying to ſhake off the fetters, which the church had impoſed upon him at his acceſſion to the crown, by the proper and legal aſſiſtance of parliament, he was continually weakening the royal authority, by further conceſſions to the biſhops, in hopes of attaching them more firmly to his intereſts; and, when he ventured to quarrel with them, he did it in a manner, which hurt the privileges of his temporal barons no leſs than theirs, and made civil liberty appear to be intereſted in their defence. Thus he deſtroyed the only ground upon which he could ſtand, and changed the nature of the queſtion between him and Matilda, making her cauſe, and her ſon's, the cauſe of the nation, inſtead of a perſonal claim of inheritance.

His private life was far better than his publick conduct. He was a good huſband and kind father: but to his children, as well

as to his friends, he was too kind, and took no care to reſtrain the vices of their youth; a fault, which is indeed very blameable in a king, becauſe of the miſchiefs it may bring upon his people.

He was remarkably free from ſuperſtition; a merit very uncommon in that ignorant age, and ſeemed to indicate a ſtrength of underſtanding, which did not belong to him in any other reſpects. There is a ſtrange inconſiſtency in human nature! The greateſt minds often fall into weakneſſes, which the loweſt would be aſhamed of; and perſons of mean parts are exempt from certain follies, to which very wiſe ones are enſlaved! Nor did this ſuperiority in Stephen produce ſuch effects on his government, as might naturally have been expected from it. The weakeſt bigot that ever reigned could not have ſacrified more of the rights of the ſtate to a falſe ſenſe of religion, than he did to falſe notions of intereſt and ambition.

Conſidering him in the moſt favorable lights we ſhall find him unfit for a throne. If he had been only an earl of Mortagne and Boulogne, he might perhaps, by his courage, liberality, and good-nature, have ſupported that rank with a very fair reputation. But no great idea can be formed of a monarch, whoſe whole conduct in government broke every rule of good and true policy: who, having gained the crown he wore by the love

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of the nation, governed by a foreign miniſter, and foreign arms; yet, at the ſame time, gave way to innovations, which rendered his ſubjects formidable to him; then by all means of abſolute deſpotiſm, without regard to law or juſtice, endeavoured to ſubdue the power he had raiſed; and after having made his whole reign a long civil war, purchaſed at laſt a diſhonorable and joyleſs peace, by excluding his ſon from the ſucceſſion to the crown, adopting his enemy, and leaving himſelf little more than the vain pageantry and empty name of a king.

End of the FIRST BOOK *of the Hiſtory of the Life of King* HENRY *the Second.*

THE

HISTORY

OF THE LILE OF

KING HENRY THE SECOND.

BOOK II.

THE death of Stephen was a favor of providence to the people of England, which ſaved them from many great impending evils. The peace of the kingdom no longer depended upon the fictitious union of natural and irreconcileable enemies. Henry Plantagenet was now the unqueſtionable and ſole king of England. Whatever ſecret ſchemes had been formed, or might be forming, to defeat his ſucceſſion, they were entirely overthrown by this event. It has been mentioned before, that he was beſieging a caſtle in Normandy which had revolted againſt him, when intelligence came to him that Stephen was dead. The lords of his council adviſed him to haſten to England,

A. D. 1154.

V. Neubrig. l. i. c. 32.

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land, for fear his enemies ſhould uſe the opportunity of his abſence to excite ſome diſorders; but he coolly replied, that they would not dare to do any thing, and could not be perſuaded to raiſe the ſiege, till the caſtle had been forced to ſurrender at diſcretion, which it did in a few days. Nor was his confidence vain: for he had eſtabliſhed his power in England on ſuch a ſolid foundation, and put the care of his intereſts into ſuch ſafe and able hands, that his preſence there was not neceſſary: and this being the caſe, it was certainly wiſe in him, not to leave behind him any root of rebellion. It might indeed have been natural for ſo young a king, to be more impatient to put on his royal robes: but the ſolidity of his mind gave no way to the impreſſions of vanity, and he preferred, upon all occaſions, what was really great to the oſtentation of greatneſs.

Chron. Norm. P 990.

Having entirely pacified Normandy he went to Rouen, and conferred with his mother, who prudently agreed to remain, as before, in that dutchy, and not go with him to England; thinking that her preſence might hurt him there, as ſhe was not beloved by the Engliſh; or feeling, perhaps, that it would not be agreeable to reſide as a ſubject where ſhe had reigned as a queen. Whatever right ſhe had to the crown, a formal ceſſion of it, in favor of her ſon, by

any

any public act, was not thought to be neceſſary, nor does it appear that he deſired it: her acquieſcence in what had been ſettled by the treaty of Wincheſter being eſteemed by the nation, and even by her own moſt zealous friends, a ſufficient releaſe of the oaths they had taken to her, either in the life-time of her father, or after the battle of Lincoln. And Henry himſelf might think, according to the notions received in thoſe days, that his title, in itſelf, was better than hers; as he was the neareſt heir male to his grandfather, King Henry. Certain it is, that there was no renunciation declared on her part, nor reſignation of her claim in his behalf; but his right of ſucceſſion was left upon the foot of the treaty of agreement between him and Stephen. This great point being adjuſted, he ſummoned all the barons and prelates of Normandy, to adviſe with them upon all that was proper to be done in the preſent emergency, particularly with regard to the affairs of that dutchy; but he ſeems to have confided the government of it entirely to Matilda, endeavouring thus to make her ſome amends for giving him no trouble in the kingdom of England: and it muſt be owned that ſhe deſerved the moſt thankful acknowledgments, and beſt returns in his power, on that account. For though it is certain, that, if ſhe had attempted to contend with him for it, ſhe would not have ſucceeded, yet, by ſuch a diſpute

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dispute, she would have grievously embarrassed his filial piety, and disturbed his quiet. But all being accommodated to their mutual satisfaction, Henry, and his two brothers, with Eleanor, and a most splendid train of nobility, repaired to Barfleur, at which port they intended to embark; but the winds being contrary, they were detained there a month, during all which time no disorders happened in England. The archbishop of Canterbury (Theobald) was eminently instrumental in preserving the peace of the realm, by the extraordinary diligence, prudence, and firmness, with which he acted at the head of a regency, or council of state, that had the care of the government till Henry should come over; but it was principally owing to the affection of the public, which the king had acquired, and to the dread of his power, which awed the most factious spirits. Nevertheless he was uneasy at so long a delay; and the very first moment that the change of the wind enabled him to sail, he put out to sea in such weather, that his fleet was dispersed, and he was himself in some danger of being shipwrecked; but, the storm abating, he landed in the New Forest, not far from Hurst castle, on the seventh of December in the year eleven hundred and fifty four, about six weeks after the decease of Stephen.

Gerv. Chron. Huntingdon. sub ann. 1154. Neubrig. l. i. c. 32. l. ii. c. 1.

A. D. 1154.

Upon

Upon the king's arrival at Wincheſter, the nobles, the prelates, and gentry of England crowded from all parts of the kingdom to meet him, not only as their ſovereign, but as their *deliverer*. His journey from thence to London ſeemed to be a continued triumphal proceſſion; and that city itſelf, which had been always the moſt devoted to Stephen, received him with the higheſt marks of affection. A few days afterwards, on the nineteenth of December, he and his queen were crowned in Weſtminſter abbey by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, without any ſuch capitulation having been offered to him, as had been made with his predeceſſor, or any other terms but the uſual oath of the ancient kings of England. This was ſufficient to bind the conſcience of a good prince; and recent experience had convinced the nation, that they would not be able to reſtrain a bad one by any other form of words that could be deviſed. Nor was it conſiſtent with reaſon or good policy, to ſuffer the oaths of allegiance to be limited by conditions; and declarations to be inſerted into thoſe oaths, that they ſhould not be binding, unleſs ſuch conditions were obſerved; as Stephen had allowed to be done in the homage and fealty, which he received from the biſhops and from Robert earl of Gloceſter. Indeed, a diſſolution of all obligations on the part of the ſubject, by the ſovereign's breaking thoſe in which the relation between them

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them conſiſts, is implied in the very nature of feudal allegiance; nay, I might ſay, of all government and lawful ſubjection: but to ſet out with a ſuppoſition that ſuch an odious caſe will exiſt, and make an expreſs proviſion for it, is what the wiſeſt free ſtates have judiciouſly avoided. Henry therefore would not admit of any ſuch expreſſions in the oaths taken to him; but brought them back again to the cuſtomary form. Nor did he diſtinguiſh the clergy, in any reſpect, from his lay ſubjects, by favors conferred on them, as a body of men who had intereſts ſeparate from thoſe of the community. He would not encourage faction in any of it's members; but leaſt of all in them, who ought always to be the furtheſt removed from that evil, and who, in the late reign, had been carried by it ſo far out of the bounds of their ſacred functions, to the detriment of the whole ſtate, and greatly to the diſhonor of religion itſelf. How much his predeceſſor had injured the commonwealth, and weakened the civil power, by the conceſſions made to the church at the beginning of his reign, he well underſtood, and avoided every thing which might ſeem to lay him under obligations of ſo dangerous a nature. Neither did he condeſcend to apply to the pope, as Stephen had done, for a confirmation of his title; not having any need of ſuch a ſupport, and being ſenſible that Rome would avail herſelf of it

againſt the independence and dignity of his crown. The much ſtronger pillars, on which he was determined to fix his throne, were the laws of his country and the love of his people. To gain that love, he did not ſtoop to the arts of low popularity: he neither debaſed the majeſty of his crown, nor exauſted its treaſures; he did not relax the vigour of government, nor plunge the nation into any exceſſes of riot or luxury; but dealt impartial juſtice to all his ſubjects, and let none of them be deprived of his royal goodneſs. The narrow and iniquitous ſpirit of party did not confine the benignity of his nature, nor the integrity, greatneſs, and candour of his mind, within it's own limits. He ſaw that to raiſe again the glory of his kingdom, it was neceſſary firſt to reſtore concord and union among his people, to allay all heats, to quiet all fears, and to extinguiſh all memory of their former diviſions. This he was able to effect; becauſe no falſe principles or notions of government ſtood in his way, by the obſtinacy of which a reconciliation of parties might be obſtructed. His title was now univerſally acknowledged; and all attachment to the houſe of Blois ſeemed to have been buried in the grave of King Stephen. He therefore thought it equally unjuſt and unwiſe, to keep his reſentments ſtill alive. The conduct he held was ſuch, as ſatisfied thoſe, who had moſt violently oppoſed his mother,

or

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or himſelf, in the late civil war, that, by their concurrence in the treaty of Wincheſter, they had obtained his forgiveneſs, and might, by their future loyalty, aſpire to the higheſt degree of his favor. Thus he happily prevented the rage of deſpair from diſturbing his government, and healed thoſe wounds, which a leſs gentle treatment, and a leſs ſkilful hand, would have rendered incurable. Nevertheleſs, in forgetting injuries he did not forget ſervices; but eminently diſtinguiſhed and rewarded the zeal of thoſe friends, who had been the moſt faithful and able ſupports of his party.

Gerv. Chron. ſub ann. 1155. Neubrigenſis, l. ii. c. 1, 2, 3.

Soon after his coronation he met his great council, and adviſed with them concerning the ſtate of his kingdom. The reſult of their deliberations was the inſtant execution of the treaty of Wincheſter, in thoſe parts which his predeceſſor had left unperformed, beginning firſt with that capital article, the ſending away the foreign troops. It was not without extreme reluctance that theſe mercenaries thought of leaving the kingdom. They had long been accuſtomed to riot on the ſpoils of it, and many of their officers had acquired great eſtabliſhments in it, particularly their general William of Ipres; to whom the earldom of Kent had been given by Stephen, with all the wealth that the bounty of a moſt prodigal monarch could beſtow on a favorite, who knew no ſcruples

Vide Fitzſteph. & Camden in Kent.

in obeying the will of his maſter, nor any moderation in enriching himſelf. Others had been rewarded, in proportion to their rank, with liberal grants, which the waſte of the royal demeſne, or the confiſcations of the adverſe party, had ſupplied. To part with all theſe emoluments, to give up the recompence of ſo many crimes, appeared to them very hard; and they would willingly have prevented it by ſtill greater crimes, if it had been in their power. But they could find no competitor to ſet up againſt Henry; William of Blois, Stephen's ſon, being too young, and too weak, in all reſpects, to undertake ſo perilous an enterprize; and no other nobleman having pretenſions, or power, or diſcontent enough, to engage with them, in any attempt againſt the king, or the peace of the kingdom.

Under theſe circumſtances, this formidable body of veteran forces, who had ſo long been the terror of the people of England, began to fear for themſelves, deprived, as they were, of all ſupport, and expoſed to the reſentments of an injured, inſulted, and high-ſpirited nation. The diviſions that had weakened it in the preceding reign, and the protection of the crown, which was never withdrawn from them, had been their ſecurity; but they could not be able now, with the royal power againſt them, to withſtand the united ſtrength of the whole kingdom.

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One hope remained, viz. that Henry himſelf might accept of their ſervices, and (as his predeceſſor had done) make them the inſtruments of arbitrary power. Examples are frequent of princes having recourſe to thoſe meaſures of government, as uſeful and neceſſary, which they had complained of, as national grievances, before they came to the throne. William of Ipres, who had been long experienced in affairs, and was too wicked to believe that any man could be virtuous, might therefore imagine, that Henry would think differently, when king of England, from what he had profeſſed, at the head of the publick, in oppoſition to Stephen. But that prince was well convinced, that, to be a great king, he muſt continue at the head of the publick, and not degrade himſelf into the captain of a band of foreign mercenaries. He therefore determined to execute the reſolutions of parliament againſt theſe men, and iſſued a proclamation commanding them all to leave the realm on pain of death, before a certain day, appointed in the edict. When that day came, not one foreign ſoldier was to be found in the kingdom: their general himſelf had gone with them, diſpoſſeſſed of his earldom and other honors in England, the loſs of which he bewailed with tears of rage; and, not able to bear this ſudden change of fortune, forſook the world, and became a monk at Laon in Flanders, where he

V. Neubrig. ut ſupra.

See Dugdale Baron. Kent. & Camden's Britain.

he died very penitent, in the year eleven hundred and ſixty-two.

The honor of the nation, as well as its liberty and repoſe, ſeemed to be reſtored by this act, and by the proceedings of Henry in another affair of a like nature, the deſtroying the caſtles which Stephen had kept undemoliſhed, againſt the faith he had given. All thoſe that had been erected in the late reign were now burnt, or levelled to the ground; except a few, that, from their ſituation, were judged to be neceſſary for the defence of the kingdom. While Henry was in the north, employed in performing this ſalutary work, William de Peverel, a great northern baron, who (as I have related in the preceding book) was accuſed of having poiſoned the earl of Cheſter, conſcious of his guilt and dreading the royal vengeance impending upon him, retired to a convent, as a ſtronger aſylum than any of his caſtles: But when the king approached to his ſanctuary, armed with all the majeſty and terrors of juſtice, he durſt not truſt even to that; but fled out of the realm. He was immediately outlawed, and his lands were ſeized, as forfeited to the crown. Thus Henry revenged the death of the earl of Cheſter, and convinced other offenders, who in the reign of King Stephen had apprehended no puniſhment for the moſt heinous crimes, that it was his reſolution they ſhould not be ſafe

Gerv. Chron. ſub ann. 1155. Neubrigenſis, ut ſuprà.

even under the hood of a monk, nor within the protection of the altar itſelf.

But in his next undertaking he found greater difficulties. Stephen's extravagance and the inſatiable demands of his faction had induced him to alienate ſo much of the ancient demeſne of the crown, that the remaining eſtate was not ſufficient to maintain the royal dignity. Some royal cities, and forts of great importance, had been alſo granted away, which could not be ſuffered to continue in the hands of the nobles, to whom they had been given, without conſiderably impairing the ſtrength of the crown, and no leſs endangering the peace of the kingdom. Policy and law concurred in demanding theſe conceſſions back again. The ancient demeſne of the crown was held to be ſacred, and, like the lands of the church, ſo inalienable, as that no length of time could give a right of preſcription to any other poſſeſſors, even by virtue of grants from the crown, againſt the claim of ſucceeding princes. But all theſe alienations were of no earlier date than the reign of King Stephen; and, therefore, the reſumption of them was free from thoſe difficulties, and inſuperable objections, that muſt neceſſarily attend the reſuming of grants tranſmitted down through ſeveral generations.

Vide Sir Rob. Cotton, Opus poſthum. See alſo Fleta, l. iii. c. 6. et Bracton, l. ii. c. 5.

For theſe reaſons it had been agreed by a ſeparate and ſecret article in the treaty of Win-

Wincheſter, that whatever lands, or poſſeſſions, had belonged to the crown, at the death of King Henry the Firſt, ſhould be now reſtored to it; except thoſe that Stephen had granted to William his ſon, or had beſtowed on the church. The latter exception was, doubtleſs, owing to the governing influence of the biſhop of Wincheſter in that treaty. Nor durſt the temporal barons, however diſſatisfied, complain of a partiality, which was ſanctified by the names of piety and religion. Among the reſumable grants there were ſome of Matilda. For ſhe too, acting as ſovereign, had followed the example ſet her by Stephen, in giving away certain parts of the eſtate of the crown, to reward her adherents. And much had been uſurped by the barons of both parties, without any warrant but the licence of the times, or pretences that could not be juſtified, when they were legally examined: ſo that no article of the treaty of Wincheſter was either more juſt, or more neceſſary, than that, which ſtipulated a reſumption of all theſe alienations. Nevertheleſs it had been abſolutely neglected by Stephen, for the ſame reaſon, I ſuppoſe, as had hindered him from fulfilling the other articles of that treaty, relating to the expulſion of all the foreign troops and the demolition of caſtles, becauſe he ſought to maintain a faction attached to himſelf, and was unwilling to withdraw his favors from perſons, whoſe aſſiſtance he deſired.

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Nothing elſe can account for ſo indigent a prince having been ſo remiſs in this point. But Henry, who reſolved to extinguiſh all factions, and was not obliged to court his nobility at the expence of his crown, as he meant to aſk nothing of them inconſiſtent with their duty, ſaw the affair in other lights. He knew indeed that a reſumption would raiſe much diſcontent in thoſe affected by it, who were many and powerful: but he choſe to ſtand their ill humour, with reaſon and law on their ſide, rather than to remain a needy king, or relieve his neceſſities by oppreſſing his people. Nor was he diſpleaſed to leſſen by this means that exorbitant wealth, which rendered ſome of his ſubjects the rivals of his own greatneſs, and was as likely to make them rebels, as any reſentment this meaſure could excite. He therefore ſummoned a parliament, wherein almoſt all his nobles were preſent, and having properly laid before them the wants of the crown, the loſſes it had ſuffered, the illegality of the grants, and the urgent neceſſity of a ſpeedy reſumption, obtained their concurrence to it, and proceeded to put it in immediate execution. The ſpirit of faction was ſo much overawed by the vigor of his government, that he met with leſs oppoſition than he had reaſon to expect. Very near all that had been granted to laymen, or uſurped by them, in any manner, from the royal demeſne, was ſurrendered to him, without blood-

Gerv. Chron. ſub ann. 1155. Neubrig. l. ii. c. 2, 3, 4.

bloodſhed, after a little delay, and ſome ineffectual marks of reluctance in a few of the greateſt barons. The earl of Albemarle, whom Stephen had made earl of Yorkſhire, and who had ruled that province with more authority than his maſter himſelf, could ill brook the being compelled to reſtore to the crown all he had gained from the weakneſs of it in the late reign. His connexions were powerful, his credit and intereſt very high and extenſive. Nor had any other nobleman ſtronger caſtles, or vaſſals more warlike. But great as he was, he found, that he now had a ſovereign, who was greater than he, and would equally reign in every part of his kingdom. Henry paſſed the Humber, and coming upon him while he was deliberating, brought him, by the terror that his preſence inſpired, to a quiet ſubmiſſion, and entire reſtitution of all his grants, particularly, of Scarborough caſtle, which he had rendered one of the ſtrongeſt in England. While this nobleman had been plotting a revolt in the north, his couſin-german, Roger de Mortimer, acting in concert with him, had alſo determined to maintain his own title to the royal caſtles of Clebury, Wigmore, and Bridgenorth, which being ſituated on the borders of Wales, where he had great power, he hoped to defend them againſt all the force of the king, with the aſſiſtance of his northern confederate, and of the young earl of Hereford, ſon to the famous Milo, whom he

Vide auctores citat. ut ſupra.

had inſtigated to join with them in this rebellion. That lord was much offended, that the ſon of Matilda ſhould reſume from him thoſe grants, with which ſhe had recompenſed the ſervices of his father; ſervices unqueſtionably great and meritorious. He thought it very unjuſt, that no difference ſhould be made between the gratuities which an uſurper had given to the king's enemies, for the encouragement of his faction, and the rewards which the king's mother's had beſtowed upon one, who, next to the earl of Gloceſter, had been undeniaby the chief ſupport of her party. This reaſoning appeared ſpecious; but it was impoſſible for Henry to pay any regard to it, without overturning the whole ſyſtem on which he proceeded. The cauſe aſſigned for theſe reſumptions was not a defect in the title of the grantor, (for on that foot it is apparent that Stephen himſelf could not have agreed to it) nor any unworthineſs in thoſe who had received ſuch favors from that prince, but the neceſſity of recovering the juſt and inſeparable rights of the crown. To have made a diſtinction between the grants of Matilda and Stephen would have done that which the king was moſt careful to avoid; it would have revived the former animoſities, and carried an appearance of his acting from motives, not of royal œconomy and public expediency, but of party-revenge: whereas, by this equal and impartial proceeding, he left

left the adherents of Stephen no cauſe to complain, or apprehend any ill-uſage, in other reſpects, on account of their paſt conduct. And, undoubtedly, if all diſtruſts of that nature had not been entirely removed by his prudence and candor, the peace of the nation could not long have continued. The earl of Hereford, therefore, had not, in reality, ſufficient grounds for his quarrel: but heated by youth and the inſtigations of Mortimer, he ſecretly left the court, with a reſolution to defend the tower of Gloceſter, and the caſtle of Hereford, againſt Henry's claim. As he was allied by his mother to the Welſh, and had great eſtates in Wales, he procured ſome troops from that nation; and flattered himſelf, that, by acting in conjunction with Mortimer, he ſhould be able to engage the whole ſtrength of the marches, and counties adjacent to them, in the ſupport of his cauſe. This inſurrection might indeed have proved very troubleſome and dangerous to the kingdom, eſpecially if the earl of Albemarle had, according to his promiſe, taken up arms in the north. But Gilbert Foliot, biſhop of Hereford, a wiſe and virtuous prelate, went to the earl of Hereford, whoſe kinſman he was, and ſo wrought upon him, by the force of his exhortations and arguments, that he perſuaded him to ſtop on the brink of the precipice, and give up the two caſtles. Henry not only pardoned, but reſtored him to favor, remembering his father's

merit, and knowing there was ſomething ſo hard in his caſe, that it might reaſonably excuſe ſuch a ſally of paſſion, in a young man, who had an hereditary greatneſs of ſpirit. Thus was this ſtrong confederacy broken: but Mortimer, though abandoned by both his friends, would not lay down his arms. Henry, incenſed at his obſtinacy, led a great army againſt him, with which, having divided it into three bodies, he at once aſſaulted the three caſtles of Clebury, Wigmore, and Bridgenorth; and though it was expected that each of them would ſtand a long ſiege, they were all ſurrendered to him in a ſhort time. Before that of Bridgenorth, which was defended by Mortimer, he commanded in perſon, and expoſed himſelf to ſo much danger, that he would there have been ſlain, if a faithful vaſſal had not preferred his life to his own. For while he was buſied in giving orders too near the wall, Hubert de St. Clare, conſtable, or governor, of Colcheſter caſtle, who ſtood by his ſide, ſeeing an arrow aimed at him by one of Mortimer's archers, ſtepped before him, and received it in his own breaſt. The wound was mortal: he expired in the arms of his maſter, recommending his daughter, an only child and an infant, to the care of that prince. It is hard to ſay which moſt deſerves admiration, a ſubject who died to ſave his king, or a king whoſe perſonal virtues could render his ſafety ſo dear to a ſubject, whom he had not obliged by

V. Radulphi Nigri Chronicon Manuſcript. Bib. Cotton. Veſpaſian. D. X. 1. f. 33. ſub ann. 1165.

by any extraordinary favors! The daughter of Hubert was educated by Henry, with all the affection that he owed to the memory of her father, and when ſhe had attained to maturity was honorably married to William de Longueville, a nobleman of great diſtinction, on condition of his taking the name of St. Clare, which the gratitude of Henry deſired to perpetuate.

Mortimer, being conſtrained to ſurrender at diſcretion, expected no mercy from an exaſperated ſovereign, whoſe power he alone had preſumed to defy. His haughty ſpirit now ſunk, and humbled itſelf to ſupplications for mercy. Henry was ſatisfied, forgave him his revolt, and left him in free poſſeſſion of all his honors and eſtates, except thoſe that belonged to the demeſne of the crown.

Thus was concluded this important and arduous buſineſs, in the proſecution whereof the king adorned the beginning of his reign with the moſt illuſtrious proofs of two royal virtues, by the happy union of which the honor, the peace, and the proſperity of a government are chiefly ſupported, *great firmneſs* and *great clemency*. The undertaking, moſt certainly, was full of difficulty and danger, even to the mightieſt monarch; but beſides the perſonal qualities which enabled Henry to act ſucceſsfully in it, he

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was assisted by the general sense of the nation; and, with this on the side of government, no strength of private interest ever was an overmatch for the power of the crown steadily and wisely administered.

Gerv. Chron. subann. 1155.

The present quiet of the kingdom being now well secured, it was proper to extend the care of the legislature to future times. Henry therefore called a parliament to meet him at Wallingford, soon after Easter, in the year eleven hundred and fifty five, which settled the succession of the crown, after his decease, upon his eldest son William, who was then but three years old; and, in case of the death of William (which happened soon afterwards) upon Prince Henry, a second son, born to him at London in the month of March this year. Oaths of fealty were accordingly taken to both; and we may assuredly infer from this, as well as many other facts, that no right of birth, how indisputable soever, was thought, in those days, a sufficient title to convey the succession, without a parliamentary acknowledgement of it, followed and confirmed by feudal engagements. For, if the crown had then descended of course to the eldest son of the king, it would not have been necessary to summon a parliament purely on this account. Henry indeed found no difficulty to obtain their consent. The Normans and English were equally desirous to fix their monarchy in the family of a well-beloved prince, who sprung from

from the kings of both nations. The faction of Stephen, if it ſtill exiſted, was ſilent. Henry's reſpectable and popular government, his juſtice, his moderation, and the great kindneſs with which he treated them, when it could not poſſibly be imputed to any weakneſs or fear, took from them the inclination, as well as the ability, of oppoſing his will.

In this great flow of proſperity, when all difficulties gave way to his power and fortune, if he had deſired to aſſume a deſpotic authority, he, probably, might have ſucceeded. For, there is no time of greater danger to liberty, than the firſt calm, that ſucceeds to a long continuance of inteſtine commotions. Beſides a general dread in the body of the people of loſing again their newly-recovered tranquillity, there is uſually, in ſuch a ſeaſon, a conteſt between the two parties, which ſhall outgo the other in flattering, and making court to the prince; and thoſe are moſt ſervile, who think they have moſt to fear, or leaſt to hope, from their paſt behaviour. Henry might have availed himſelf of theſe diſpoſitions, as other kings have done in a ſimilar ſituation: but he ſaw further, and judged better, than thoſe who take ſuch advantages to encreaſe their power. He well underſtood the temper of the nation, capable, perhaps, of ſubmitting to abſolute monarchy, in the firſt violent

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violent and thoughtleſs emotions of love or fear, but always incapable of enduring it long. And even ſuppoſing he could break the vigour of their ſpirit, and tame it to ſervitude, he knew that the maſter of a people ſo debaſed and dejected muſt neceſſarily himſelf be ſunk by their vileneſs, and could not be a great king. Theſe reflections concurring with a generous ſenſe of virtue, which appears to have been deeply fixed in his mind, he readily determined by what policy he ſhould govern this kingdom. In another parliament, held at London ſoon after this time, or rather in the ſame, adjourned to that city, he granted to his people *a charter of liberties*, confirming that of his grandfather, King Henry the Firſt.

See the charter in the Appendix to this Volume.

Thus, by the magnanimity of this excellent prince, was the whole ſtate of England, which had ſuffered alike by tyranny and by faction, compleatly re-eſtabliſhed in thoſe legal rights, that were the proper fences to guard it from both thoſe evils. It was not indeed ſo well ſecured, either from the one, or the other, as it is by the wiſdom of our preſent conſtitution: but, from the mixture of Saxon cuſtoms, which mitigated and tempered the Norman inſtitutions, it was the beſt feudal government ſubſiſting, at that time, in any part of the world. Nor was Henry content with having only reſtored good laws to his people. He did more; he

he enforced the good execution of thoſe laws. This was a taſk of no ſmall difficulty, and which required the activity, the ſpirit, the reſolution, and that fervour of zeal for the ſervice of the publick, with which his mind was endued. The *manners* of the nation were to be changed. During the reign of his predeceſſor the law had been an empty name. Even where violence did not abſolutely controul it, the partiality of party and the iniquity of the times corrupted the whole adminiſtration of juſtice. Appeals to the crown, the conſtitutional and neceſſary reſource of the people againſt the too frequent injuſtice of the nobles, had loſt their force. The king had not power to give the ſuitors the relief they demanded. Matilda's friends denied his authority, and againſt his own adherents he durſt not exert it, leſt it ſhould provoke them to leave him. Nor were the lives of his ſubjects more ſecure than their properties. The ſword of every ruffian was ſtronger than that of the magiſtrate, and the moſt notorious criminals found, not only protection, but reward and advancement, if to their private enormities they joined a remorſeleſs and daring alacrity in carrying on the horrors of civil war. Upon the agreement between the chiefs of the two contending factions ſome check was given to theſe diſorders: but the habits of licentiouſneſs had gained too much ſtrength to be quickly overcome. Henry applied his utmoſt

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V. Neubrig. l. ii. c. i. Diceto ſub ann. 1554. Brompton ſub ann. 1555. Petri Bleſenſis epiſt. 66. ad Gualter. epiſcop. Panormit. in Appendice.

moſt endeavours to ſubdue them, and to accompliſh the heroical work of reſtoring the purity and vigour of juſtice, and ſettling good order, good morals, and good diſcipline again in his kingdom. He attended perſonally at the judgment of all greater cauſes in his own court, and made frequent progreſſes into the ſeveral counties, that he might the better diſcover and remedy all abuſes in the rural juriſdictions, or in the behaviour of the judges whom he ſent thither, as his delegates, to adminiſter juſtice. *He did not* (ſays a writer, to whom he was perſonally and intimately known) *ſit ſtill in his palace, as moſt other kings do, but going over the provinces explored the actions of all his ſubjects, chiefly judging thoſe whom he had appointed the judges of others.* A conſtant ſenſe of the ſuperintendance of the royal authority was thus kept up in the minds of his people; and the power of the crown, which they had been uſed to deſpiſe or hate, was made both reſpectable and amiable to them: the intermediate powers, eſtabliſhed by the ſyſtem of the feudal conſtitution, were duly controuled; and the diſorder attending the abuſe of thoſe powers in the ſeveral parts of that ſyſtem was prevented. The meaneſt peaſant, who ſued for juſtice againſt the higheſt nobleman, was favorably heard, and obtained from the king a ſpeedy redreſs of his wrongs. Robbers and freebooters were put to death without mercy; and every

V. Petrum Bleſenſ. ut ſupra.

other breach of the peace was corrected by exemplary puiſhments; ſo that even the moſt profligate were awed and reſtrained. Public ſecurity being reſtored by this neceſſary rigour, and by the continued activity, vigilance, and firmneſs of the ſovereign, in ſuppreſſing whatever had a tendency to produce inteſtine troubles, the farmer, and the huſbandman, the merchant, and the manufacturer, returned to their occupations, the towns and villages were repeopled; agriculture and commerce revived and flouriſhed, virtue and religion were encouraged and promoted. Such were the conſequences of Henry's beneficent government; and thus he obtained the higheſt glory a king can obtain; that of having reformed a depraved and corrupted ſtate.

In theſe affairs he was ſerved ably (and to chuſe able ſervants is the moſt neceſſary part of royal wiſdom) by thoſe whom he entruſted with the adminiſtration. They were all perſons whom approved and eminent merit recommended to his favor. Robert de Bellomont earl of Leiceſter was grand juſticiary, a poſt not uſually filled, in that age, by a layman; or at leaſt not by a layman, without ſome prelate being joined in commiſſion with him: but Henry, who ſaw the clergy too powerful, did not think it adviſeable to ſtrengthen them ſtill more, by ſuch an addition of power as that office gave;

gave; deſiring rather to make the authority of it a curb to that of the church. He therefore joyned two laymen in the commiſſion, the earl of Leiceſter and Richard de Lucy. The former was a perſon of great prudence, and yet of a reſolute ſpirit, very proper to maintain the rights of the ſtate againſt the attempts of the clergy and the pope; which he was the better enabled to perform, becauſe his known piety and the regularity of his life ſet him above the imputation of irreligion, uſually thrown in that age upon any of the laity who dared to reſiſt the uſurpations of Rome.

His collegue was a gentleman of conſiderable rank, and one who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a ſoldier, but joined to his valour, and military abilities, the knowledge of a lawyer and talents of a ſtateſman. In chuſing him to ſhare this office Henry gave a new proof of his not being influenced by the ſpirit of party, and of having entirely baniſhed thoſe reſentments, which a narrow mind, or a bad heart, would have retained and indulged. For Richard de Lucy had been highly in favor with Stephen, nor had he ever betrayed him or deſerted his ſervice. A little before the agreement of that king with Henry we find him in arms againſt the latter: and by an article of that treaty the tower of London and Windſor caſtle were put into his cuſtody; which muſt have been done

done at the deſire of Stephen, becauſe it appears that he gave no ſecurities for his fidelity to *him* in that truſt: whereas he was obliged to give his ſon to Henry, as a hoſtage for the delivery of thoſe forts to that prince after the death of the king. But it is probable that Henry approved the choice made by Stephen, from the reputation of integrity which Richard de Lucy had gained: and that character, with the abilities he ſoon diſcovered in him on a nearer acquaintance, was now the cauſe of his advancement to this high dignity. His conduct in it juſtified the prudence of Henry. He was one of the faithfulleſt and beſt ſervants that any prince ever employed, uſeful in all buſineſs, and as fit to command an army, as to preſide in a court of judicature, or a council of ſtate.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury was treated by the king with great regard, and had a principal ſhare in the adminiſtration of government, which he deſerved by the ſervices he had done that prince in affairs of the higheſt importance, and by the cordial affection which he bore to his perſon. He was a man whom experience and knowledge of buſineſs had made a miniſter of ſtate rather than genius; having parts good enough to be eſteemed, and not great enough to be feared, by his maſter. Yet, had he been of an enterpriſing temper, he would have given

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trouble to government: for whatever he undertook he purſued with an obſtinate and undaunted reſolution; as Stephen had found to his coſt on ſome occaſions. But, being now grown old and weary of faction, as well as diſinclined to any quarrel with a ſovereign whom he loved, he tried to keep the church and ſtate as quiet as he could; which was all that Henry deſired, till, by a continual and inſupportable encreaſe of the evils ariſing from the unwarranted pretenſions of the clergy, he was compelled, for the ſake of civil ſociety, to attempt a reformation of thoſe abuſes.

On the recommendation of the primate, Thomas Becket was raiſed to the office of Chancellor. This man, the moſt extraordinary of the age he lived in, and from the ſingularity of his character (to which there are few parallels in the hiſtory of mankind) deſerving the notice of all ages, was born at London, in the year eleven hundred and ſeventeen. His father and anceſtors (as he ſays himſelf in one of his epiſtles) *were citizens there, who had lived contentedly and quietly among their fellow citizens, and were not the loweſt among them.* It ſeems that his education was intended to qualify him for the church. We are told, that, during his childhood, his father put him to ſchool in Merton abbey; and, when he had attained to manhood, ſent him to finiſh his ſtudies at Paris. After ſome time, he returned from thence

Epiſt. 108. l. 1. Bruxell. edition.

Quadrilogus ſive Hiſtoria Quadripatita. Vit. et proc. S. Thomæ Cantuar.

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thence to London, was employed as a clerk in the ſheriff's office there, and then introduced to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who finding him a youth of uncommon parts, and being captivated with his graceful and winning addreſs, gave him the livings of St. Mary le Strand and Otteford in Kent, and obtained for him two prebends in the cathedrals of London and Lincoln. Theſe benefices he, probably, held by the pope's diſpenſation; (for he was yet only in deacon's orders) and deſiring to qualify himſelf for greater preferments prevailed on his patron to ſend him to Bologna, the moſt famous univerſity then in the world, eſpecially for the ſtudy of the canon and civil laws, which of all ſciences was moſt likely to procure his advancement, either in the church, or the ſtate. After reſiding there a year, he went to Auxerre in Burgundy, where thoſe laws were alſo taught; and returned into England no mean proficient in them, but with ſtill ſuperior talents for negociation; which the archbiſhop diſcovering, he diſpatched him ſoon afterwards as his agent to the pope, on a point he thought of great moment, namely, to get the legatine power reſtored to the ſee of Canterbury. This commiſſion was performed with ſuch dexterity and ſucceſs, that the archbiſhop entruſted to him all his moſt ſecret intrigues with the court of Rome, and particularly a matter of the higheſt importance to England, the ſoliciting from the pope thoſe prohibitory letters

Mar. &c. edit. Paris. ann. 1493.

Quadrilogus, Gerv. act. Pontif. Cantuar. de Theobaldo et S. Thoma.

Vit. et proc. S. Thoma, ut ſupra.

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ters againſt the crowning of prince Euſtace by which that deſign was defeated. There was great difficulty in conducting this buſineſs: for, though Eugenius the Third, who then held the pontificate, had quarrelled with Stephen, yet as the election of that monarch had been ratified by the papal authority, it was very prejudicial to the honor of Rome, that he ſhould be declared by the ſame authority, a perjured uſurper. Nor, indeed, was it the intereſt of that ſee to co-operate, in ſupporting the pretenſions of Henry Plantagenet, againſt the ſon of Stephen, if it deſired to maintain the encroachments it had made, upon the rights of the Engliſh monarch, during the reign of his father. And therefore (as we are informed by an anecdote preſerved to us in a letter of Becket) one of the cardinals, who favored Euſtace, told the pope on this occaſion, that *it would be eaſier to hold a ram by the horns than a lion by the tail.* The ſtrength and power of Euſtace, whoſe foreign dominions were but ſmall, compared with thoſe of Henry, certainly could not be ſo hard to contend with, nor was it probable, that his authority in the kingdom of England would be ſo firmly and ſecurely eſtabliſhed as Henry's, if the latter ſhould recover the crown of his anceſtors. This was a conſideration which it behoved the court of Rome to regard with great attention, before they took any meaſures to oppoſe the ſucceſſion of Euſtace; eſpecially

Epiſt. 14. l. iv.

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as there was no reaſon to believe, that the principles and maxims of government infuſed into Henry would incline him to acquieſce in their uſurpations. For Becket himſelf obſerves, in the above-cited letter, that, when he came to the crown, *he oppoſed the liberty of the church, by a kind of hereditary right*; his father having reſiſted it, in ſeveral inſtances, with remarkable ſpirit. Euſtace then might juſtly hope, that he ſhould be favored by the policy of the Vatican; and there was the leſs probability that Eugenius could be brought to act againſt him, as Stephen in that conjuncture, had a miniſter at Rome, who had much influence over the mind of that pontiff, namely, Henry de Murdac; to whom Eugenius himſelf had given the ſee of York (as I have before related) and whom Stephen, who had long refuſed to acknowledge him, had now received, in hopes of obtaining a papal bull for the coronation of his ſon. But the implacable hatred of the pope againſt him, and Becket's great abilities in negociation, overcame all the weighty arguments and powerful intereſt on the ſide of that prince: which happy ſucceſs, in an affair of ſuch conſequence and ſo much difficulty, gave Becket a merit, not only to the prelate by whom he was employed, but alſo to Henry, which was the firſt foundation of his high fortune. At his return into England, the archbiſhop conferred upon him ſeveral new favors, making him provoſt of Beverley and

Gerv. ut. ſupra, et in Chron. ſub. ann. 1152.

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Fitz-Stephen in vit. Becket.

dean of Haſtings, which benefices he held together with the former; and juſt before the death of Stephen the archdeaconry of Canterbury was likewiſe given to him by the ſame prelate. But theſe were only the beginnings of his advancement. For, immediately after Henry's acceſſion to the throne, he was made the king's chancellor, at the requeſt of his patron, who thought no dignity or truſt above his merit. Nor, in doing this, did Henry pleaſe the archbiſhop alone. Becket's promotion muſt have been extremely agreeable to the Engliſh; as he was the firſt of that nation, ſince the latter years of the reign of William the Conqueror, on whom any great office, either in the church or ſtate, had been conferred by the kings of Norman race; the excluſion of them from all dignities being a maxim of policy, delivered down by that monarch to his ſons, and founded (as we are told by William of Malmſbury) on the alarming example of what had befallen the Danes in England, after the deceaſe of Canute the Great. For the Engliſh having been ſuffered, by the indulgence of Canute, to retain under him a large ſhare of honors and power, the conſequence was, that they ſoon recovered the government, and drove out the foreigners. Whether the expulſion of the latter was really owing to the cauſe here aſſigned, or to their own provoking inſolence, may well be diſputed: but this opinion, unqueſtionably, prevailed too much in the minds

W. Malmſb. 59. l. iii. & 50. de Will. I.

of

of the Normans, and continued too long. Even Henry the Firſt, who courted the affection of the Engliſh, as the chief ſtrength of his throne, and in other reſpects was kind to them, adhered to this maxim, more perhaps, from an apprehenſion of offending the Normans, than any jealouſy in himſelf. Stephen and Matilda ſeem alſo to have acted on the ſame principle: ſo that this diſhonorable mark of humiliation and inequality remained fixed on that people, till the auſpicious reign of Henry Plantagenet. He was the firſt who took it off: and certainly this deſerves to be celebrated among the moſt memorable and moſt laudable acts of his life; being that which removed all appearance of *a conqueſt*, and entirely completed the incorporating union between the two nations, which his royal grandfather had formed, but had not brought to full perfection. He might, poſſibly, be more inclined to favor the Engliſh, as, by his grandmother, he deſcended from the Anglo-Saxon kings; but one may better aſcribe the kindneſs he ſhewed them to large and generous notions of policy, which made him deſire to widen the foundations, on which the government of England had ſtood for ſome time: foundations too narrow for the ſuperſtructure of glory and publick good, which his noble ambition and extenſive benevolence aſpired to raiſe. The work, indeed, was to him leſs difficult than it would have been to his grandfather: for England

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had now, (as a contemporary author tells us) *not only a king, but many biſhops and abbots, many great earls and noble knights, who, being deſcended both from the Norman and Engliſh blood, were an honor to the one and a comfort to the other.* This happy effect of the inter-marriages between the two nations naturally leſſened the jealouſy, which, for almoſt a century, had been ſo ſtrong in the Normans. But a prince of narrow ſoul would not have ſeen the practicability, or comprehended the utility of departing from the maxim his predeceſſors had adhered to: and it would have been ſingly ſufficient to illuſtrate the reign of Henry the Second, that, by putting an end to this diſtinction, as well as to that which the fury of civil diſcord had lately produced, he opened the temple of Honor to all merit, called forth every virtue, and every talent into the ſervice of the publick, and made himſelf the common father of his own people.

V. Ailredus Abb. Riv. de Vit. & Mirac. Edward Conf. p. 401. n. 40.

The chancellor of England, at this time, had no diſtinct court of judicature, in which he preſided: but he acted together with the juſticiary and other great officers in matters of the revenue, at the exchequer, and ſometimes in the counties, upon circuits. The great ſeal being in his cuſtody, he ſuperviſed and ſealed the writs and precepts, that iſſued in proceedings pending in the king's court, and in the exchequer. He alſo ſuperviſed all charters, which were to be ſealed with that ſeal,

See Dugdale's Origines Juridiciales, & Madox's Hiſt. of the Exchequer. c. 2. p. 42, 43.

ſeal. Mr. Madox obſerves, that he was uſually a biſhop or prelate, becauſe he was looked upon *as chief of the king's chapel*, which was under his ſpecial care. In the council his rank was very high. It ſeems that he had the principal direction and conduct of all foreign affairs, performing moſt of that buſineſs which is now done by the ſecretaries of ſtate. Such was the office to which Becket was raiſed: but the favor of his maſter made him greater than even the power of that office, great as it was in itſelf.

The biſhop of Wincheſter, who had hoped to govern the kingdom, had no ſhare in the miniſtry, or none that went beyond the appearance and form of being called to a council, where his opinion was hardly ever followed, but when it might help to confirm and authorize that of others, who had the confidence of their maſter. Henry was too honeſt to love, too wiſe to truſt him, and too ſtrong in the eſteem and affection of the publick to fear his reſentment. Diſguſted at this neglect, and imagining, perhaps, that by intriguing with the pope, or the king of France, againſt Henry, he might be able to revenge himſelf more effectually on the latter, and with greater ſafety to himſelf, than by remaining in England, he privately ſent his treaſures out of the realm, and then left it himſelf, without the permiſſion of his ſovereign, who immediately gave orders,

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ders, that all the ſix caſtles belonging to him in England ſhould be demoliſhed.—The blow was deciſive—It broke at once all his military power in this kingdom: it ſhewed a boldneſs and a vigour in the government, which deterred even the clergy from eſpouſing his quarrel; and as, abroad, he did not find the ſupport he expected, he was compelled to ſubmit, and ſue for leave to return to his biſhoprick; which Henry, who had ſufficiently puniſhed and humbled him, was willing to grant, but confined him to his bare epiſcopal duties. In this retirement, ſo very unſuitable to his temper, he pined ſome years, unattended to, and almoſt forgotten by the publick; after having made and unmade kings, and governed with more than regal power! Nor can there be a greater proof of the ſtrength of the crown and the wiſdom of the king, than that ſo crafty and bold a man, ſo ſkilful in courts, ſo verſed in faction, could neither work himſelf into the gevernment, nor make it uneaſy!

Peace and obedience being thus eſtabliſhed in England, Henry had leiſure to attend to his foreign affairs. His firſt buſineſs was, to do his homage to Louis, for the many fiefs he held of the crown of France. This ceremony was neceſſary at the end of a war, in which a vaſſal had fought againſt his ſovereign; the feudal connection between them having been broken; and therefore it ought to

to have been paid by Henry, upon the concluſion of the peace, the year before. But his ſickneſs, which came upon him immediately afterwards, and ſome affairs of importance retarded it till Stephen died; and then he was forced, as ſoon as the commotions in Normandy, and the wind and ſea would permit, to haſten to England. During his ſtay in this iſland, to prevent the king of France from taking any umbrage at this neglect, or, rather, becauſe he was ſenſible that ſome had been taken, he wrote to that monarch, and aſſured him of his willingneſs to pay the ſame homage which he had paid him before, for all the dominions which he held of his crown, on condition of ſuch a reciprocal engagement from him, as the duty of a feudal lord to his vaſſal required. It was the more neceſſary, at this time, that ſuch an aſſurance ſhould be given, becauſe, Henry the Firſt having diſputed the nature of the homage, which was due to the crown of France from the dutchy of Normandy, and having refuſed to pay it in the uſual manner, it might be apprehended, that his grandſon, being now king of England, would make the ſame difficulty, tho' he had ſubmitted to it before his elevation to that rank. But he avoided any occaſion of a quarrel with Louis, eſpecially one not well grounded; and declared, in the ſame letter, that *out of obedience, reſpect, and affection to that prince*, he would couclude a peace with the earl of Blois, by re-

V. Ducheſne. t. iv. epiſt. diverſor. de Reb. Franc. epiſt. 58.

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referring their differences to an amicable arbitration. Thus he kept every thing quiet in France, till he had leiſure to go thither, which he did very early in the year eleven hundred and fifty-ſix. He then performed his homage to Louis for Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. That monarch had reaſon (as a French hiſtorian well obſerves) *to tremble when he received it!* The conjunction of ſo many and ſuch great feudal territories, under one vaſſal, had never happened before in the French monarchy; and gave no ſmall alarm to France; as the perſon in whom they were united was alſo king of England. If Louis had taken all occaſions to diminiſh this formidable power, he would have acted with prudence: but he neglected a good one, which preſented itſelf to him ſoon after this time.

Gerv. Chron. et Diceto, ſub ann. 1156. Hoveden ſub ann. 1155. P. Daniel H de France, ſub ann. 1156.

It has, before, been told, how Henry Plantagenet had very unwillingly been compelled, at the death of his father, and before the body of that prince was buried, to ſwear that he would perform every article of his will. Agreeably to that oath, he ſhould, after he had gained poſſeſſion of England, have reſigned the earldoms of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, to Geoffry, his younger brother. But, as ſoon as he was crowned, he applied to Rome for relief from the obligation of this oath: repreſenting to the pope that he had taken it by conſtraint, and in abſolute

V. Neubrig. l. ii. c. 7.

Chron. Norm. ſub ann. 1145. Gerv. Chron. et Diceto, Imag. hiſt. ſub ann 1156. Brompt. Chr. p. 1048.

ſolute ignorance of what his father's will contained, which he objected to, in this particular, as being unjuſt; becauſe, againſt the cleareſt principles of natural right, without his having committed any fault or offence, it deprived him of his whole paternal inheritance.

The Roman ſee, ſince firſt it aſſumed an authority of diſpenſing with oaths, has very ſeldom refuſed, upon proper application, to reconcile the religion and conſcience of a prince, with his intereſts, or his paſſions; unleſs when another prince, of greater power, or more a friend to the intereſts of the papacy has oppoſed the requeſt. Henry was a great king: his brother was a ſubject who had no weight in the balance of power in Europe; which was uſually examined by the caſuiſts of the Vatican with much more attention, than the niceties of the caſe referred to their judgement. It is not very certain whether Anaſtaſius the Fourth, or Adrian the Fourth, was then Pontiff: but either of them was in circumſtances to render him very deſirous of Henry's friendſhip. And, as there was really ſomething hard in the caſe of that prince, the diſpenſing power of Rome, was plauſibly, as well as uſefully, exerciſed, in his behalf, on this occaſion. Being thus releaſed from his oath, he paid no regard, either to the will of his father, or the complaints of his brother. It could not indeed be expected that he ſhould, after

Geoffry

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Geoffry had openly joined with his enemies to ſeize thoſe dominions by force of arms, when he had no title to them, even allowing the will to be obligatory upon Henry; as it was done before that prince had poſſeſſion of England. Conſidering the time when he entered into that league, and the whole purport of it, one cannot be much ſurpriſed, that the affection of Henry ſhould be cooled towards a brother, who had ſo unnaturally covenanted his utter deſtruction. But tho' Geoffry had abundant cauſe to be very well ſatisfied with having been pardoned a treaſon of ſo heinous a nature, he would neither relinquiſh his pretenſions to the earldoms, nor receive ſome compenſations, offered to him by Henry, whom he went to viſit at Rouen, together with his uncle and aunt, the count and counteſs of Flanders, ſoon after the return of that king into Normandy from his late interview with Louis, which ſeems to have been held in the French Vexin. What theſe compenſations were hiſtory does not inform us: but we are told that he departed in great diſcontent, and going to his caſtles infeſted from thence the whole country round about them. As there was in all the three earldoms no ſmall number of the nobility and principal gentry, who wiſhed rather to be governed by a prince of their own, reſiding conſtantly among them, and one whoſe power they did not fear, than by an abſent and potent monarch, Geoffry might have excited a dangerous

dangerous revolt in thoſe parts, if Henry, whoſe vigilance was never ſurpriſed, had not, immediately upon his departure, aſſembled an army, with which he marched to oppoſe him, and having divided them into two bodies laid ſiege at the ſame time to two of his caſtles, Mirebeau in Anjou, and Chinon in Touraine. Nature and art had united in fortifying the latter: but nothing could then reſiſt the force of Henry's arms. Both caſtles were taken; and the rebel prince was compelled, with equal ſorrow and ſhame, once more to have recourſe to the clemency of his brother, which ingratitude itſelf could not weary out. Upon his ſurrendering the caſtle of Loudon, his only remaining fortreſs, Henry ſettled on him a penſion of a thouſand pounds of Engliſh money and two thouſand Angevin; and left him the lands belonging to his caſtles, but levelled theſe to the ground; thus, at once, giving him a maintenance, not unſuitable to his rank, and taking from him the means of raiſing new diſturbances. The above-mentioned ſum was equal to an income of twenty two thouſand five hundred pounds of our money in theſe days, beſides the revenues ariſing from his lands: and it would have been well if proviſions of the ſame nature had always been made for the younger brothers of kings or princes, inſtead of appenages, which gave them the poſſeſſion of fortreſſes, by which their ambition was often tempted to carry them into faction and civil

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war. Nevertheleſs it is certain, that, by all the rules of good policy, the king of France ſhould have ſupported Geoffry's claim, and given him the inveſtiture of the three earldoms; in order to ſeparate thoſe dominions from Normandy and Aquitaine, and thereby leſſen the power of Henry in that kingdom: but he overlooked this great intereſt; or thought, that having ſo lately received homage from him for all his territories in France, including the three earldoms, he could not, at this time, diſpute his title to them; eſpecially, as it was ſtrengthened by the authority of the pope, to which he paid, on all occaſions, an implicit reſpect. This acquieſcence on his part was of much advantage to Henry; who alſo found his account in the advances he had made, not long before, towards a peace with the earl of Blois, which tied the hands of that prince, and prevented his giving any aſſiſtance to Geoffry. Indeed, it evidently appears, by the acts of a council, which Louis held this year at Soiſſons, that the ſettling a general peace in the kingdom of France, and reſtoring agriculture, commerce, and other fruits of tranquility, was the object that the king, and all his principal feudatories, had moſt at heart: of which diſpoſition Henry availed himſelf in this conjuncture. As to the juſtice, or moral rectitude, of his proceedings with Geoffry, which ſome hiſtorians have condemned with moſt ſevere reproaches, he would certainly have been

V. Duchesne, t. iv. epiſt. diverſor. de Reb. Franc. epiſt. 57, 59. & P. Daniel, ſub ann. 1155.

been a more pious ſon, if he had not diſputed his father's will: but whether that will was equitable in itſelf, or whether his brother deſerved from him more kindneſs than he met with, may well be queſtioned.

England ſeems not to have taken any part in this war: but Henry was attended, throughout the whole expedition, by his chancellor, Becket. This miniſter was now become his chief favorite, and made a very immoderate uſe of his favor. Employments and truſts of all kinds were heaped upon him, without meaſure or propriety. Beſides the office of chancellor and a ſcandalous number of eccleſiaſtical benefices, he had royal caſtles and forts committed to his cuſtody, the temporalities of vacant prelacies, and the eſcheats of great baronies belonging to the crown. The revenues of theſe he made uſe of, with the ſame freedom, as if they had been his own rents; perhaps, for the general ſervice of his maſter, but without keeping any regular or ſtrict account, and certainly with great appearance of a moſt extravagant prodigality and oſtentation in himſelf: ſo unlimited was the confidence that Henry placed in him! Indeed he ſeemed almoſt to ſhare the throne with his ſovereign. And it muſt be confeſt, that, if ſuch a participation of the royal authority could have been juſtified by the accompliſhments and talents of a miniſter, it would be his. For he poſſeſſed all the qualities that could moſt powerfully en-

Gerv. Chron. ſub ann. 1155. et in act. Pontif. Cantuar. de S. Thoma. Brompton Chron. p. 1058. Heribert. de Boſeham et Fitz Stephen in vita Becket.

V. Epiſt. S. Thomæ, l. ii. epiſt. 6, 33.

V. Auctores citatos ut ſupra.

gage the affections of a prince, who had a judgment capable of diſcerning and a heart formed to love extraordinary merit, but a temper that required ſome delicacy of addreſs in thoſe who approached him very nearly, and that yielded moſt to thoſe friends, whoſe character appeared moſt to ſympathiſe with his own. The perſon of Becket was graceful and his countenance pleaſing: his wit was lively and facetious, his judgement acute, his eloquence flowing and ſweet, his memory vaſt and ready on all occaſions. The time he had paſſed in that ſchool of the moſt exquiſite policy, the court of Rome, had greatly improved and refined his underſtanding. Nor was his capacity limited to the ſphere of buſineſs. He made himſelf a perpetual companion to the king in moſt of his pleaſures, and fell in with all his taſtes ſo eaſily and ſo naturally, that in paying his court he ſeemed only to indulge his own inclinations. There was a certain inexpreſſible grace in his manners, given by nature, but helped by art, which rendered his virtues more amiable, and even his vices agreeable. Thus his profuſeneſs and oſtentation appeared like generoſity and greatneſs of ſpirit. Nor was he indeed devoid of theſe good qualities; but he carried them beyond their proper bounds. His expence was enormous, and Henry would have been jealous of it, as intended to acquire too much popularity, if he had not been perſuaded by the addreſs of Becket, that all his magnificence,

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in which the ſon of a private citizen ſurpaſſed even the greateſt and moſt opulent earls, was only deſigned to do honor to his bountiful maſter, whoſe creature he was, and upon whom his whole fortune muſt abſolutely depend. Yet, amidſt the luxury in which he lived for ſeveral years, and all the temptations of a court where gallantry reigned, he was (if we may believe the writers of his life) conſtantly temperate and invincibly chaſte.

Henry, being now triumphant in Anjou, obliged all the nobility of Gaſcony and Guienne to give him hoſtages for their future fidelity. On what occaſion he did ſo we are not told: but he had, doubtleſs, ſome extraordinary cauſe to ſuſpect them; perhaps a diſcovery of their having ſecretly intrigued with his brother; which conſpiracy might be prevented from taking effect, by the vigilance of his government and the terror of his arms. For it is not very probable, that Geoffry would have dared ſo inconſiderately to draw thoſe arms on himſelf, if he had not relied on ſome aid; and the barons of Aquitaine, having been long weakly governed by Henry's predeceſſors, were impatient of reſtraint, and prone to rebellion. But, whatever might be the motives, on which Henry thought it neceſſary to take this precaution, it anſwered his purpoſe ſo well, that, for many years afterwards, it kept thoſe provinces in peace and obedience to his government.

Fortune was ſo favorable to him at this time, that every accident added to his ſtrength. It happened that the count and counteſs of Flanders engaged themſelves by a vow to go this year, on a pilgrimage, to Jeruſalem. They thought that they could not find ſo fit a guardian, in their abſence, for their eldeſt ſon Philip, who was yet an infant, or ſo reſpectable a protector for their dominions, as Henry their near kinſman, and faithful friend. To him therefore they committed the care of their ſon, and the regency of Flanders, till they ſhould return from the eaſt: and the young prince having eſpouſed the heireſs of Vermandois, that province alſo was put under his government. This was a great augmentation of his power on the continent; and might well have added to the jealouſy of the French court: but he uſed his utmoſt art to quiet their apprehenſions; being never ſo careful to pay the king of France the reſpects of a vaſſal and the regards of an ally, as when he had made, or was endeavouring to make, ſome acquiſition, which might naturally give umbrage to him and his kingdom. The affairs of Flanders were ſettled, with great attention and great wiſdom, by their new governor; and after he had eſtabliſhed ſuch order and harmony in all his territories abroad, that he brought them to compoſe one political ſyſtem, as if they had been a ſingle ſtate, he returned into England,

Gerv. Chron. et Diceto, ſub ann. 1157. Chron. Norm. p. 993. Neubrigenſis, l. ii. c. 4. Annal. Wav. ſub ann. 1157.

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in the ſpring of the year eleven hundred and fifty ſeven. To re-annex to that kingdom all the provinces it had loſt to the Scotch and Welſh, under the late unhappy reign, was now the principal object of his deſires, and the general wiſh of his people.

In what manner his great uncle, David, king of Scotland, had gained poſſeſſion of the three northern counties, and had brought him to take an oath, that he would not reſume them, in caſe he ſhould recover the throne of his anceſtors, has been already related, in the preceding book. The title of that king, or of his ſon, to theſe provinces, even as fiefs to be held of England, under homage and fealty, had been always very doubtful. By what right either of them laid claim to Weſtmoreland, I cannot diſcover. And out of the grant which Stephen had made of Northumberland, Newcaſtle and Bamburg had been expreſly reſerved. But David had ſeized upon more than he had a right to, from the terms of that compact, under the pretence of holding thoſe provinces for Matilda and her ſon; inſtead of which he retained and left them to his own grandſon, as parts of the kingdom of Scotland, ſeparated from England, and not even tied to it by any obligation of feudal obedience. It could not appear to the Engliſh in any other light, than as an acquiſition the Scotch had made, by taking advantage of the weakneſs of Eng-

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land, and diſtreſs of the royal family in a time of civil war; and Henry's council ſuppoſed, that he might with equal policy, and with more juſtice, now take advantage of the weak ſtate of Scotland, to recover to his crown it's antient rights and poſſeſſions. His former obligations to the Scotch royal family for their having aſſiſted his mother, and conferred upon himſelf the honor of knighthood, could be no ſufficient argument, for ſuffering territories of ſo much value and importance to be loſt to his kingdom; it not being permitted to a king to be grateful at the expence of his people. He therefore judged it neceſſary to regain the three counties, and thought the time ſo favorable for ſuch a demand, that it ought not to be neglected. The oath he had taken was the ſole impediment which ſtood in his way: but againſt this he might plead, that it had been impoſed upon him, when his tender age, and inexperience in matters of government, were ſtrong objections againſt the validity of it; eſpecially, as the alienation of theſe dominions had not been agreed to by the eſtates of the kingdom, whoſe conſent, in all monarchies not entirely deſpotic, is neceſſary to confirm an act of this nature. He might alſo alledge, that the only conſideration, upon which he could be ſuppoſed to have taken ſuch an oath without fraud, or force, was the efficacious aſſiſtance, which David had engaged to give him in England, by making an offenſive war againſt

againſt Stephen: but as that engagement was not kept, he was conſequently freed from his part of the compact. Theſe reaſons appeared ſo weighty, and made his conſcience ſo eaſy, that he did not even apply to the papal authority for relief in this caſe; but, ſuppoſing that his oath was void in itſelf, ſent to demand the immediate reſtitution of the three counties. His embaſſadors were ordered to ſay, *that their maſter, the king of England, ought not to be defrauded of ſo conſiderable a part of his kingdom; nor could he patiently ſee it thus diſmembered: and juſtice required, that territories gained by the Scotch in his name ſhould be reſtored to him.* Upon receiving this meſſage, Malcolm, who was then but in his ſeventeenth year, or rather the lords of his council, by whoſe advice he was governed, thought it neceſſary to make the reſtitution demanded; *prudently conſidering* (ſays William of Newbury, a good contemporary hiſtorian) *that, with regard to this point, the king of England was no leſs ſtrong in the merits of his cauſe than in the greatneſs of his power.* But although they had not been ſo abſolutely convinced of the juſtice of his claim, as that writer ſuppoſes; his power was, undoubtedly, ſo formidable to them, and the ſtate of their government ſo infirm, that prudence required them to make this ſacrifice of conteſted acquiſitions, rather than run the hazard of a war, which might ruin their country. And Malcolm might the more eaſily give up

Vid. Neubrig. ut ſupra.

Neubrigenſis, l. i. c. 23.

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Northumberland, becauſe, when David, his grandfather, declared him ſucceſſor in the kingdom of Scotland, he aſſigned that province to William, his younger brother.

But Henry was not ſatisfied with having regained the three counties. He likewiſe inſiſted, and not without an ancient claim, that Malcolm ſhould acknowledge himſelf his vaſſal for Lothian. This earldom, in which all the eaſtern parts of Scotland, between the Tweed and Firth of Forth, were then comprehended, had been granted by Edgar, one of the greateſt Saxon kings, to Kenneth the Third, under condition of homage; and it does not appear that the vaſſalage had been ever releaſed, to him or his ſucceſſors, by any other king of England. Malcolm therefore was adviſed by his council to agree to this demand likewiſe; and the Engliſh monarch conferred on him the earldom of Huntingdon, againſt the claim of the of Northampton, to whoſe father it had been given by Stephen, on the death of Henry prince of Scotland. Probably, this was done on the foundation of the grant made to David, Malcolm's grandfather, by Henry the Firſt: and unleſs the right of the other family to the earldom of Huntingdon had been ſo evidently certain in juſtice and law, as not to admit of any latitude in the diſpoſal thereof by the power of the crown, policy required, that, in this inſtance, ſome favor ſhould be ſhewn to the Scotch king in return for the important

V. Diceto Imagin. hiſt. et Annal. Waverlenſes, ſub ann. 1157.

Chron. Norm. p. 993.

Chron. Johan. de Walingford. p. 545.

M. Weſtmonaſt. p. 193.

See Dugdale's Baronage, earl of Northampton.

tant conceſſions, which he had made to England.

Theſe northern affairs being thus ſettled, Henry now turned his thoughts, and not without ſome inquietude, to the great and dangerous war he intended to make againſt the Welſh.

As I have not hitherto, during the courſe of this work, given any diſtinct account of that ancient people, I ſhall now ſketch out the moſt important outlines of their hiſtory, down to the times of which I write, partly from the Welſh chronicle of Caradoc of Lhancarvon, which among them is of the greateſt authority; and partly from our own writers. In doing this I ſhall ſupply ſome material omiſſions, which I deſignedly left in the preceding hiſtory of the four firſt Norman kings; becauſe I thought it would be better, that their tranſactions with the Welſh, which were not abſolutely connected with other matters there related, ſhould be ſhewn together with the general view of that nation, preſented here.

How bravely and obſtinately the Silures, Demete, and Ordovices, who firſt inhabited that part of Great Britain which has ſince been called Wales, reſiſted the all-conquering power of Rome, the Roman hiſtorians themſelves declare. When that nation had entirely

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entirely relinquiſhed this iſland, about the year four hundred and forty eight, theſe valiant people, aſſiſted by the natural ſtrength of their country, and augmented by great numbers who fled to them for ſafety from the invaſions of the Scotch, the Picts, and the Saxons, preſerved themſelves free under their own form of government, their own laws, and their own princes, while all the reſt of South-Britain was over-run and ſubdued by foreign arms.

The name of Welſh was given to them firſt by the Saxons, and is derived from a contraction of Gwalliſh, or Gauliſh, denoting their origin from the Gauls: but they call themſelves Cumri, of which the Latin name, Cimbri, given to a Celtic nation of Germany, was probably a corruption. Wales was bounded at firſt by the Iriſh ſeas and the rivers Severne and Dee. But, towards the end of the eighth century, the Welſh were driven out of all the level country, ſituated between the Severne and Wye, by Offa the Great, king of Mercia, who planted there Engliſh colonies, and made the celebrated dike, ſtill called by his name, which extended, from north to ſouth, about ninety miles, running along the ſides and bottoms of the hills, from the mouth of the river Dee to that of the Wye near Chepſtow. It is thought to have been an imitation of the ramparts thrown up by Agricola, Adrian, and

Dr. Powell's Welſh Chron. p. 19, 20. Camden's Britan. Radnorſhire.

and Severus, to guard the Roman province againſt the incurſions of the northern Barbarians: but, from ſome remains of it, which are ſtill to be ſeen, and for ſeveral other reaſons, I ſhould judge that it was rather intended for a boundary, to ſeparate the territories of the Engliſh from thoſe of the Welſh, than to protect the former, as a fortification. Whatever the intent of ſo vaſt a work may have been, the labour and charge were greater than the benefit. For, ſoon after Offa's death, the Welſh again extended their dominions beyond that dike, forcing their way, like a rapid torrent, which deſcends from the mountains and overflows the plain country. Their limits, from that time, were very uncertain; being often advanced, or ſet back, as the fortune of war happened to change, in favor of them, or of the Saxons. In the ninth century, Egbert, ſupreme monarch of England, won from them Cheſter, which had been the capital ſeat of the former kings of North-Wales. From this city his ſucceſſors infeſted that kingdom with perpetual inroads; and the Welſh in return made incurſions, with great fury, into the counties of England that bordered upon them: each nation keeping up an implacable hatred againſt the other, and adding the remembrance of ancient animoſities to every new quarrel. The Saxon chronicle tells us, that Ethelwolf, ſon to Egbert, ſubdued the people of North-Wales. V. Chron. Sax. p. 75. ſub ann. 853.

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Wales. It alſo appears, from Aſſer's hiſtory of King Alfred the Great, that ſome of the Welſh princes were ſubject to his crown; and the Welſh chronicle owns, that his grandſon Athelſtan entered Wales with a great army, which brought the kings of the country to pay him tribute, and acknowledge his ſovereignty: but they did not continue very long in this ſtate of ſubjection. Among the Saxon laws, publiſhed by Wilkins, we have a conſtitution agreed to by the legiſlatures of both nations, for ſecuring the peace of the borders, which ſeems to put them upon a foot of independence and equality. It is ſuppoſed to have been made in the reign of Ethelred, who came to the crown in the year nine hundred and ſeventy eight; and before that time we find the Welſh often in arms on the borders, and ſhewing little obedience or regard to the ſovereignty of England.

p. 50. ſub ann. 933.

V. Senatus conſultum de Monticolis Walliæ, Wilkins, p. 125.

In the year eight hundred and forty three all Wales was united under the dominion of Roderick, ſurnamed the Great: but in the year eight hundred and ſeventy ſix that prince again divided it, by a teſtamentary ſettlement, into three kingdoms, Guyneth, or North-Wales, Deheubarth, or South-Wales, and Mathraval, or Powis-land; which he ſeverally left to his three ſons, who were all crowned and called kings; but the two younger were ſubordinate to the eldeſt, who had North-Wales, and held his

royal ſeat at Aberffraw in the iſle of Angleſey, which was the Mona of the Britons. The grandſon of Roderick, Howel Dha, (in Engliſh Howell the Good) about the year nine hundred and forty, obtained the ſole dominion of all the three kingdoms, and made a reformation of their political, civil, and municipal laws, which were digeſted by him into three books. This code is ſtill extant, and has been publiſhed in England with a Latin tranſlation, but mixed with other inſtitutions of a much later date, many of which are ſtrictly feudal, and therefore muſt have been chiefly derived from the Normans. The entire agreement of others with the laws of the Saxons ſeems to indicate that they were occaſionally borrowed from thence, and adopted by Howell: though the ſimilar genius of the Britiſh Celts and the Germans may have alſo produced ſome reſemblance and conformity in the more ancient cuſtoms of the two nations. Among thoſe that appear to be purely and originally Britiſh, one may diſcover a great deal of barbariſm, and many things that required a further reformation. The beſt that can be ſaid of the policy of the Welſh government, is, that there was in it no tincture of deſpotiſm. The nobles and clergy were conſulted in all matters of ſtate: the people were free, and ſeem to have aſſiſted in the making of laws and other acts of great moment. They were oppreſt by no taxes, nor by

Welſh Chron. from p. 52 to 55.

V. Leges Walliæ auct. Gul. Wotton. V. Præfation. Gul. Clarke.

V. Leg. Walliæ, l. ii. l. 42, 58, 59. et multas alias.

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by any toilſome work: and to this an ancient author, who was himſelf of that nation, aſcribes their magnanimity and courage in war. *For nothing* (ſays he) *ſo raiſes and excites the minds of men to brave actions, as the chearfulneſs of liberty: nothing, on the contrary, ſo dejects and diſpirits them, as the oppreſſion of ſervitude.* But, in truth, the Welſh were ſo far from ſubmitting to *ſervitude*, that they could ſcarce endure *government*. Their liberty bordered too nearly upon anarchy, being rather that of a ſavage than a civilized people. The whole conſtitution was ill framed, either to poliſh their manners, or to ſecure the internal peace of the country; none under heaven having been ever more agitated with civil commotions; which were ſo frequent and violent in all parts of Wales, that very few of their princes died natural deaths: for either they were ſlain in wars with each other, or murdered by others of the ſame family, who, for want of a determined rule of ſucceſſion, or by the power of factions, aſpired to the government. One great cauſe of this evil was, that the old Britiſh cuſtom of dividing the eſtate of the father, in equal ſhares, among the ſons, baſtards, as well as legitimate, extended, not only to private inheritances, but to the inferior chieftains, or princes in the ſeveral diſtricts; and even to the royal families in all the three kingdoms; the eldeſt ſon having no more than a kind of titular

V. Girald. Cambrenſ. de Illaudabilibus Walliæ, c. 10.

V. Dr. Powel's Welſh Chron. p. 21, 58, 59, 60. Girald. Cambrenſ. de Illaudabilibus Walliæ, c. 9.

titular ſovereignty over the younger: nor was that preference always given, but, ſometimes all the ſons of a dead monarch governed jointly, which produced the utmoſt confuſion; and, in ſeveral inſtances, election, or force of arms, conferred the chief rule upon one of the younger ſons, or perhaps, upon ſome other more diſtant kinſman. What aggravated this miſchief was another ancient cuſtom, which prevailed among the chieftains and kings of Wales, of ſending out their infant ſons, to be nurſed and bred up in different families of their principal nobles or gentry; from whence it enſued, that each of theſe foſter-fathers, attaching himſelf with a ſtrong, paternal affection, to the child he had reared, and being incited by his own intereſt to deſire his advancement above his brothers, endeavoured to procure it by all the means in his power. Thus, as moſt of their kings cohabited with ſeveral women, who generally brought them many children, ſeveral parties were formed among their nobility; which breaking out at their deaths involved their ſeveral kingdoms in blood and confuſion. Minors were never allowed to reign: but it often happened, that, when a prince, excluded in his infancy, attained to manhood, he then aſpired to the throne, which, on account of his nonage, he had formerly loſt, and found a party to aſſiſt him in thoſe pretenſions. Thus, after the deceaſe of Howell Dha, the

V. Welſh Chron. from p. 51 to p. 54, and from p. 58 to 63. See alſo p. 21. and Girald. Camb. de Illaudabilibus Walliæ, c. 4. 9.

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kingdoms of Wales were again divided into different portions, and perpetually harraſſed with different claims. They were indeed re-united under Meredyth, Howell's grandſon; but his reign was unfortunate and of ſhort continuance: for he was ſo infeſted with the pyratical deſcents of the Danes, that, after St. David's, and other places upon the coaſts of South-Wales, had been deſtroyed by their ravages, he was forced to deliver himſelf from them, by a compoſition of the ſame nature with the firſt *Danegeld* of the Saxons, viz. to pay them a capitation, at the rate of a penny for every man in that kingdom. This only allured their countrymen to other invaſions, with leſs fear of reſiſtance and more aſſurance of gain. While Meredyth's arms were employed in a civil war with the ſon of his elder brother Eneon, who laid claim to South-Wales, the Northern corſairs landed in Angleſey, and deſolated the whole iſland. As publick misfortunes are always charged to the fault of the government, the people of North-Wales revolted, and choſe another king. Great diſorders enſued; till the unhappy Meredyth dying, without iſſue male, in the year nine hundred and ninety eight, Lhewelyn ap Sitſylth, who had married his daughter, ſucceeded to him in South-Wales, and ſoon obtained, by force of arms, the two other kingdoms. The Welſh chronicle, to expreſs the felicity of his reign, ſays, *that*,

Welſh Chron. from p. 73 to 91.

in

in his time, the earth brought forth double to what it produced in the times before paſt: the people proſpered in all their affairs, and multiplied wonderfully; the cattle encreaſed in great numbers; ſo that there was not a poor man in Wales, from the ſouth to the north ſea; but every man had plenty, every houſe a dweller, and every town inhabitants. Yet he was not exempt from the uſual deſtiny of the other Welſh kings. The ſons of Edwin ap Eneon rebelled againſt him and ſlew him: but Gryffyth, his ſon, revenged his death; drove Howell, the ſon of Edwin, out of South-Wales; and killed in battle another prince, who had lately obtained the ſovereignty of North-Wales, not without a good title, if any title but force of arms could have availed in that nation.

Gryffyth was the firſt, and, I believe, the only Welſh king, that ever had a navy; a few ſhips of war having been built for his ſervice in ſome foreign country, and manned with foreign ſailors. He could not be furniſhed with either among his own ſubjects: for Giraldus Cambrenſis informs us, that the Welſh had no ſhips, but ſuch as were uſed by the Britons, their anceſtors; ſmall wicker boats, that were covered with hides, and had neither oars nor ſails. On what occaſion this fleet, which was ſo great a novelty to his people, was provided by this prince, we are not told: but, I preſume, he deſigned it to protect them from the ravages of the Danes

V. Flor. Wig. et S. Dunelm. ſub ann. 1063, 1064.

V. Girald. Cambrenſ. Cambriæ deſcriptio, c. 8. 17.

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and Norwegians. Howell having attempted, by the help of theſe and other foreigners, to regain from him South-Wales, was totally defeated in a pitched battle, and hardly eſcaped with his life. But an honorable death in the field would have ſaved him from a greater misfortune: for his wife, whom he had brought to be a witneſs of the triumph, which he confidently hoped to obtain over Gryffyth, was taken priſoner by that king; who, liking her beauty, kept her for his concubine. Nor does it appear, that he loſt any reputation among his own people by ſo brutal a rape; the Welſh ſuppoſing, that whatever belonged to the conquered was a lawful prey to the conquerors, their wives themſelves not excepted. The unfortunate huſband, reinforced by another army of Engliſh and Danes, made a new effort not long afterwards, to recover the poſſeſſion of his wife and kingdom; but was vanquiſhed and ſlain in the conteſt. Other competitors aroſe againſt Gryffyth; for not even the greateſt victories could give to theſe princes any ſecurity in their power: but he overcame all his adverſaries by fair and open force in the field. Nor did he confine his valor within his own territories. In conjunction with Algar earl of Cheſter, who had been baniſhed from England as a traitor, in the reign of Edward the confeſſor, he marched into Herefordſhire, and waſted all that fertile country with fire and ſword, to revenge the death of his brother,

Welſh Chron. ut ſupra.

V. Chron. Sax. ſub ann. 1055. p. 169.

V. Flor. Wi. p. 623. 629.

ther Rhees, whoſe head had been brought to Edward, in purſuance of an order ſent by that king, on account of the depredations which he had committed againſt the Engliſh on the borders. To ſtop theſe ravages, the earl of Hereford, who was nephew to Edward, advanced with an army, not of Engliſh alone, but of mercenary Normans and French, whom he had entertained in his ſervice, againſt Gryffyth and Algar. He met them near Hereford, and offered them battle, which the Welſh monarch, who had won five pitched battles before, and never had fought without conquering, joyfully accepted. The earl had commanded his Engliſh forces to fight on horſeback, in imitation of the Normans, againſt their uſual cuſtom: but the Welſh making a furious and terrible charge, that nobleman himſelf and the foreign cavalry, led by him, were ſo daunted at the view of them, that they ſhamefully fled without fighting; which being ſeen by the Engliſh, they alſo turned their backs on the enemy, who, having killed or wounded as many of them as they could come up with in their flight, entered triumphant into Hereford, ſpoiled and fired the city, razed the walls to the ground, ſlaughtered ſome of the citizens, led many of them captive, and (to uſe the words of the Welſh chronicle) *left nothing in the town but blood and aſhes*. After this exploit, they immediately returned into Wales, undoubtedly

edly from a deſire of ſecuring their priſoners, and the rich plunder they had gained. The king of England, hereupon, commanded Earl Harold to collect a great army from all parts of the kingdom, and aſſembling them at Gloceſter, advanced from thence, to invade the dominions of Gryffyth in North-Wales. He performed his orders, and penetrated into that country, without reſiſtance from the Welſh; Gryffyth and Algar retiring into ſome parts of South-Wales. What were their reaſons for this conduct we are not well informed; nor why Harold did not purſue his advantage againſt them: but it appears that he thought it more adviſeable, at this time, to treat with, than ſubdue, them; for he left North-Wales, and employed himſelf in rebuilding the walls of Hereford, while negociations were carrying on with Gryffyth, which ſoon afterwards produced the reſtoration of Algar, and a peace with that king, not very honorable to England; as he made no ſatisfaction for the miſchief he had done in the war, nor any ſubmiſſions to Edward. Harold muſt, doubtleſs, have had ſome private and forcible motives to conclude ſuch a treaty. The very next year, the Welſh monarch, upon what quarrel we know not, made a new incurſion into England, and killed the biſhop of Hereford; the ſheriff of the county; and many more of the Engliſh, both eccleſiaſticks and laymen. Edward was counſelled by Harold and Leofrick earl of Mercia,

Flor. Wigorn. p. 630. ſub ann. 1056.

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Mercia to make peace with him again; which he again broke: nor could he be reſtrained by any means from theſe barbarous inroads, before the year one thouſand and ſixty-three; when Edward, whoſe patience and pacific diſpoſition had been too much abuſed, commiſſioned Harold to aſſemble the whole ſtrength of the kingdom, and make war upon him in his own country, till he had ſubdued or deſtroyed him. That general acted ſo vigorouſly, and with ſo much celerity, that he had like to have ſurpriſed him in his palace: but, juſt before the Engliſh forces arrived at his gate, having notice of the danger that threatened him, and ſeeing no other means of ſafety, he threw himſelf, with a few of his houſhold, into one of his ſhips, which happened, at the inſtant, to be ready to ſail; and put to ſea. What country he retired to we are not informed: but, probably, he went into Ireland. Harold, vexed at his eſcape, ſet fire to his palace, and burned all his ſhips of war that remained in his harbour; after which, returning to Briſtol, he there fitted out, with all poſſible expedition, a powerful fleet; with which he cruized along the coaſts of North and South-Wales, preventing the importation of corn and other neceſſaries, which the Welſh had been accuſtomed to receive from abroad. While he was employed in this manner, a ſtrong body of horſe, under the conduct of Earl Toſti, his brother, had

Welſh Chron. p. 100, 101.

V. Chron. Sax. Ingulph. Flor. Wigorn. et Chron. Petroburgen. ſub ann. 1063. 1064, 1065. Malmſb. de Geſt. R. A. l. ii. c. 13. Welſh Chron. p. 101, 102. Girald. Camb. de Illaudabil. Walliæ, c. 7. 8.

marched to a rendezvous, which he had appointed, in the maritime part of North-Wales. As ſoon as he had intelligence of their being arrived, he landed and joined them with his infantry, which he had embarked for that purpoſe; leaving none but the ſailors and rowers aboard his fleet, which he ordered to cruize as before. The two brothers, after their junction, eaſily made themſelves maſters of all the flat country: but Harold, being ſenſible that heavy-armed ſoldiers were unfit for purſuing the light troops of the Welſh into their mountainous regions, provided his infantry with bucklers of hides, and other armor of a lighter ſort than they uſually wore. The greater part of his cavalry he left in the plains, under the command of his brother; and taking only a few of them, with ſome bands of foot heavy-armed, which he ordered to follow and ſupport the light-armed forces, if they ſhould be repulſed, he boldly advanced into countries, which no Saxon army ever had entered before; marching all the way on foot himſelf, and driving the enemy even from their inmoſt retreats, with a terrible ſlaughter, till they we recompelled to ſue for peace at the diſcretion of the conqueror. Proud of having ſurmounted the ſtrong barriers which nature had oppoſed to his paſſage, and of having ſubdued this warlike people, he ſet up pillars of ſtone in ſeveral places to which he had carried his victorious arms; as tro-

phies

phies and monuments of his fame to poſterity. Giraldus Cambrenſis aſſures us, that, in his time, they were ſtill remaining there, with the following Latin inſcription, reſembling thoſe of the Romans in ſimplicity and conciſeneſs, engraved upon each of them, HIC FVIT VICTOR HARALDVS.

Probably, the Welſh would have better defended their country, if they had been under the conduct of Gryffyth, their ſovereign: and, as in all his former life he had ſhewn ſo much courage, we may reaſonably conclude, that he would not ſo ſhamefully have abandoned his people through the whole courſe of a war which he himſelf had brought upon them, if the Engliſh navy, which continually guarded the coaſt, had not prevented his return into any part of North-Wales. Certain it is, that he did not come back to them, till the latter end of ſummer in the following year, after they had been forced to ſubmit to Harold; and then he found them ſo incenſed at having been left by him in the time of danger, and ſo averſe to any thoughts of renewing the war, that, inſtead of aſſembling themſelves under his ſtandard, as he urged them to do, they ſent his head to Harold, together with the prow of the ſhip, or galley, in which he returned. The Welſh chronicle tells us, that they were inſtigated to this treaſon, by Blethyn and Rywallon, his mother's ſons, whom Harold had made kings of North-

V. Flo. Wig. et S. Dunelm. ut ſuprà.

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Wales and Powis-land, as he had alſo given South-Wales to Meredyth, the eldeſt ſon of Owen, whoſe father Edwin had been expelled from that kingdom by Gryffyth. This valiant prince had ruled all Wales during four and thirty years, a very long reign for any king of that nation! Thoſe appointed by Harold were obliged to take an oath of fealty to Edward, and pay him the full tribute that ever had been paid to any of his predeceſſors. Thus, by the valour and good conduct of that earl was the ſovereignty of England over the princes of Wales more completely eſtabliſhed than it had ever been before. But he built no caſtles in the country, nor did he plant any colonies of Engliſh there, without which it was impoſſible, that the ſubjection of a people ſo uſed to arms, and ſo impatient of diſhonor, could long continue. After his death they regained their independence: during which they were continually and moſt grievouſly diſturbed with deadly feuds, till the year of our Lord one thouſand and ſeventy eight, when Gryffyth ap Conan, and Rhees ap Tewdor, having united their arms, made themſelves entire maſters of North and South-Wales. The claim of theſe princes to thoſe dominions was good; Gryffyth being deſcended from the eldeſt ſon of King Roderick, and Rhees from the eldeſt ſon of Howell Dha: beſides which they were valiant men, a qualification the Welſh regarded more than any other

Welſh Chron. from p. 109 to 115.

other pretenſions. Gryffyth, in gaining the ſovereignty of North-Wales, was aſſiſted by an army, which he procured from the king of Ulſter, whoſe ſiſter he had married, while he and his father Conan were exiles in Ireland. Upon this revolution, Powis-land, which after the death of Rywallon had been annexed to North-Wales, under the government of his brother, was ſhared between two ſons of the latter, as it ſeems, by an agreement with Gryffyth ap Conan.

Such was the ſtate of Wales in the year one thouſand and ſeventy nine, when William the Conqueror, provoked by ſome incurſions of the Welſh, and having eſtabliſhed his dominion over the Engliſh, came to St. David's with a mighty army; and ſtruck ſuch a terror into all the princes of Wales, that, without reſiſtance, they ſubmitted to do him homage; he demanded no tribute from them; nor could they properly pay it when they became his vaſſals; the feudal laws exempting thoſe who were admitted to homage from all ſuch impoſitions. It does not appear, that any of them rebelled againſt him, or committed any depredations upon the borders of England ſo long as he lived. They alſo kept peace among themſelves: but the very year that he died, the ſons of Blethyn ap Convyn gathered together their forces againſt Rhees ap Tewdor; who was conſtrained to fly to Ireland, where he

Welſh Chron. p. 115. ſub ann. 1079. Huntingdon, l. vii. f. 212.

he had potent alliances; and from whence he returned with an army, which, being joined by his friends, enabled him to recover the kingdom of South-Wales. Soon afterwards the earls of Hereford and of Shrewſbury, confederating themſelves with the Welſh on their borders againſt William Rufus, ravaged the counties of Gloceſter and of Worceſter. Nor, when this inſurrection was quelled in England, do we find that the Welſh ſubmitted to the king, or that their princes acknowledged his ſovereignty over them, either by doing homage to him, or paying tribute. But, in the fourth year of his reign, Jeſtyn, lord of Glamorganſhire, which country his anceſtors had governed for ſome ages under the kings of South-Wales, having been defeated in a rebellion againſt Rhees ap Tewdor, ſent one of his gentlemen, who had ſerved in the army of England, to ſollicit ſome of the lords and knights of that kingdom to come to his aſſiſtance, with tempting promiſes of rewards and emoluments from him. The propoſal was agreeable to the ſpirit of the times. Robert Fitz-haimon, a gentleman of the king's privy chamber and great baron of the realm, undertook the adventure. Twelve knights, of conſiderable note and diſtinction, were retained in his ſervice, or rather agreed to ſerve under him, with a large body of forces. They joined thoſe of Glamorganſhire, which were ready to receive them, and invaded

invaded the territories of Rhees ap Tewdor, who met them near Brecknock, and giving them battle was defeated by them, and ſlain in the action. He was the laſt of his nation who poſſeſſed the ancient kingdom of South-Wales entire: for after his death it was diſmembered, and preſently fell to decay. When Jeſtyn found himſelf conqueror (if we may believe the Welſh chronicle) he kept all his engagements with the Normans very faithfully, but broke his word with the Welſh gentleman, he had ſent to them, and to whom he had promiſed to give his daughter in marriage, if he ſucceeded in his negociation. This perſon, whoſe name was Eneon, being fruſtrated of the reward he expected, and burning with reſentment, followed the Normans, who were already embarked for England, and complaining to them moſt bitterly of his maſter's perfidiouſneſs incited them to turn their arms againſt him. He aſſured them that they might eaſily conquer his country; as from his treaſon to Rhees, he would be deprived of all aid from the other princes of Wales. Upon which, partly out of their regard to the man, and partly being allured by the bait he propoſed to them, they all returned with him, attacked the lord of Glamorganſhire, defeated, and ſlew him. This is the account which is given by Caradoc of Lancarvon; but, according to another very authentic relation of this affair, Jeſtyn refuſed to perform

See the hiſtory of the winning of Glamorgan, in Dr. Powell's Welſh Chron. p. 124.

form the covenants he had made with the Normans, through the mediation of Eneon, who therefore joined them againſt him. Certain it is that Fitz-haimon, by no other title than that of conqueſt, ſeized on Glamorganſhire, and reſerving to himſelf ſome principal parts, with the ſeignory of the whole, gave all the reſt of that fair and fertile province to be held as fiefs under him, by the twelve knights who came with him, and ſome others who had aſſiſted him, particulary Eneon. The Welſh chronicle ſays, that *theſe were the firſt ſtrangers that ever inhabited Wales ſince the time of Camber.* But ſoon afterwards Bernard de Neufmarché, another of the great Norman barons, conquered the province of Brecknock; and theſe examples exciting the ambition of their countrymen to like attempts, ſeveral of the nobility petitioned the king to grant them lands in Wales under homage and fealty, if, by their own arms, they could win them from the natives; which he did very willingly, as the beſt method of ſubduing that people without any charge or trouble to himſelf, and puniſhing their princes for having withdrawn that obedience, which they had ſworn to the Engliſh crown in the reign of his father. Accordingly Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewſbury, did homage to him for Cardiganſhire in South-Wales; and for all Powis-land, of which he afterwards ſubdued and ſettled ſome diſtricts, particularly,

Welſh Chron. p. 121.

Ibidem, from p. 150 to p. p. 153.

larly, the town and caſtle of Baldwyn. This important place, which commanded one of the fineſt parts of Wales, adjacent to England, he new-fortified; and called it after the name of his family, which it retains to this day. Arnulph, his younger ſon, obtained likewiſe, in South-Wales, the great lordſhip of Dyvet, named Pembrokeſhire, from the town and caſtle of Pembroke built by him there, in a fertile and open country. The earl of Cheſter, and two of the Mortimers, with many other Norman barons, who were ſeated in the bordering counties of England, became vaſſals to William Rufus for lands belonging to the Welſh in all their three kingdoms, which he diſpoſed of, as forfeited to him by the natives, on account of their rebellion; but of which the ſeveral perſons, on whom he beſtowed them, were to obtain the poſſeſſion at their own charges. Whatever conqueſts they made they endeavoured to ſecure, by immediately building ſtrong caſtles, and, as far as they could, by ſettling in them colonies of Normans or Engliſh. Thus was this laſt aſylum of the Britons broken into, by their enemies, on every ſide. But the ſpirit of the Welſh did not long remain patient under theſe uſurpations. Gryffyth ap Conan, who then was king of North-Wales, and Cadogan ap Blethyn, who poſſeſſed as much of South-Wales as remained unconquered by the Normans, united againſt them; and having defeated them in two or three

Welſh Chron. p. 152 to 156. Malmſb. de W. II. f. 68. 70. l. iv. Huntingdon, l. vii. f. 216. Hoveden, par. I. f. 266, 267.

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three battles, deſtroyed all their caſtles, except thoſe of Pembroke and Rydcors, and recovered almoſt all Dyvet, Powis-land, and South-Wales. Nor were they content with expelling theſe invaders, but carried their arms, with terrible ravages and devaſtations, into the borders of England, joining all the rage of a barbarous people to the reſentment of freemen, who had lately ſhaken off the yoke of oppreſſion. William Rufus, inflamed with great anger and diſdain, that a nation, which had paid obedience to his father, ſhould dare to attack and inſult him in his own kingdom, raiſed a mighty army, and marched in perſon againſt them. At his approach they retired: he determined to follow them; and entering their country at Montgomery, ſtopped there awhile, till he had repaired in ſome degree the ruined fort; which being done, he tried to penetrate into the interior parts of North-Wales. But the Welſh ſo ſtrongly guarded the defiles of the mountains, the woods, and the rivers, chuſing their poſts with great judgment, and cautiouſly avoiding to fight on the plains, that he made little progreſs. Great rains fell; his horſes died; and his troops were ſo harraſſed with the many hardſhips they ſuffered, that he was obliged to return to England, and leave the war to be proſecuted by the lords of the marches. But although they exerted their utmoſt ſtrength and valour, they found the taſk too hard for them; and, after

Vid. auctores cit. ut ſuprà.

ſundry

ſundry defeats, Roger de Montgomery earl of Shrewſbury, William Fitz-euſtace earl of Gloceſter, with many other noble perſons, having been ſlain; and all their caſtles in thoſe countries, except that of Pembroke, burnt or razed to the ground; William Rufus himſelf thought it neceſſary to march a ſecond time into Wales at the head of a royal army; and made all the efforts to regain the provinces he had loſt, that great courage, excited by the higheſt indignation and ſenſe of ſhame, could produce. Yet ſo valiant were the Welſh, ſo prudent their leaders, and ſuch the difficulties he found in attempting to break through the faſtneſſes of the mountains, that he now ſucceeded no better than in his former expedition.

It is very ſurpriſing, that a king, ever victorious in all his other wars, ſhould in theſe, with an undiſciplined and barbarous nation, have been ſo foiled and diſhonored! William of Malmſbury aſcribes it to the nature of the country, and inclemency of the weather. But, as to the firſt, Harold likewiſe had *that* to contend with; and yet he conquered all Wales. The weather indeed might happen to be better, and more favorable to him than it was to William Rufus; and rainy or ſtormy ſeaſons add much to the difficulty of making war, in woody or mountainous countries: but other cauſes, and not ſo fortuitous, may well be aſſigned, to account for

the different ſucceſs of theſe princes. The Norman armies, being chiefly compoſed of horſe, and encumbered with heavy armor, were not able to act among the ſteep precipices, and narrow paths of the mountains, or in the woody vales and deep bottoms; nor could they eaſily be ſubſiſted in thoſe barren places at a diſtance from the ſea: which inconveniences it has been ſhewn that Harold wiſely avoided, by another manner of arming and diſpoſing his forces. The Welſh had, indeed, ſubmitted to the Normans, under the firſt king of that race; being awed by the great name of *William the Conqueror*, and yielding rather to the reputation than force of his arms: whereas thoſe impreſſions were now worn off: they had tried their ſtrength with the Normans, and found it ſuperior in repeated engagements: but the greateſt difference was, that they were now under the conduct of able and ſkilful commanders; which advantage, more important than any other whatſoever, they had been deprived of by the abſence of Gryffyth ap Lhewelyn, their general and their king, when the army of Harold attacked them in the heart of their country.

After the death of William Rufus, his ſucceſſor, Henry the Firſt, ſought to divide the Welſh provinces in Powis-land and South-Wales; thinking that this would be the eaſieſt way to ſubdue them: which policy proved

proved ſo ſucceſsful, that when they had waſted their force in long civil wars, ſome of them, from a neceſſity of aſking his aſſiſtance againſt their foes, became his friends and vaſſals; particularly, Cadogan and Meredyth, ſons of Blethyn ap Convin. He alſo ſtrengthened thoſe provinces of South-Wales which remained under the power of England, by a new colony, very proper to anſwer that intention. During the reign of his father, a great number of Flemings, having been driven out of their dwellings by an extraordinary inundation of the ſea on that coaſt, had come over to England; where they hoped to receive a protection from the queen, who was a daughter of Baldwin earl of Flanders. The king entertained them with great kindneſs and favor, not only out of regard to her patronage of them, but from true notions of policy; to encreaſe, by ſuch an acceſſion of uſeful inhabitants, the wealth and ſtrength of his kingdom. Many of them were planted by William Rufus in the waſte lands of Northumberland, and about Carliſle; but others were diſperſed all over England, and began, by their multitude, to give ſome uneaſineſs; which Henry took off, and availed himſelf of them to yet more advantage, by ſending them all to ſettle in South-Wales; where he gave them the diſtrict about Tenby and Haverford-Weſt; in which their poſterity remain to this day. They were very induſtrious, yet, at the ſame time, very valiant; ſkilful

V. Girald. Cambrenſ. Itiner. Cambr. l. 1. c. 11. Malmſb f. 89. ſect. 30. l. v. et f. 68. ſect. 40. l. iv. Flor Wigorn. S. Dunelm. et Hoveden, ſub ann. 1111.

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in huſbandry, manufactures, and commerce, and equally expert in the uſe of arms: ſo that they anſwered all ends which can be propoſed in planting a colony, cultivation of lands, improvement of trade, and defence of the country. William of Malmſbury ſpeaks of them as a ſtrong barrier, which reſtrained the Welſh in thoſe regions from infeſting the Engliſh territories: and certainly ſuch a plantation was a more effectual ſecurity than any fortreſs or bulwark.

V. Malmſb. ut ſupra.

As for North-Wales, Gryffyth ap Conan, the king thereof, had never done homage, or paid tribute, to the crown of England; but, by the ſtrength of his country, had maintained himſelf independent; having loſt only ſome diſtricts in the more open and maritime parts of his kingdom. He remained in this ſtate till the year eleven hundred and thirteen; at which time king Henry, having ſuppreſt the troubles in Normandy, ſecured that dutchy to himſelf, and overcome all the enemies of his greatneſs abroad, received complaints from the earl of Cheſter, that frequent devaſtations were made in Cheſhire, and part of Flintſhire, which belonged to the juriſdiction of that earldom, by the king of North-Wales, or by the rulers of provinces under him. Gilbert de Clare, earl of Pembrokeſhire, but then called earl of Chepſtow from the chief place of his reſidence, complained alſo that Owen, the ſon of Cadogan

Welſh Chron. p. 173, 174.

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ap Blethyn, harboured and maintained ſome bands of robbers, who infeſted his country. Henry ſwore in his anger, that he would not leave one Welſhman alive in Powis-land or North-Wales; but, after having extirpated all that nation, would plant in each of them now colonies of his own ſubjects. To execute this, he drew together the whole force of his kingdom: and Alexander the Fierce, who then reigned in Scotland, came and ſerved him in perſon, at the head of a conſiderable body of Scotch. Three armies were formed; one under the conduct of this prince and the earl of Cheſter, which was deſigned to attack North-Wales; another, led by the earl of Chepſtow and Pembroke, which was ordered to invade thoſe diſtricts of South-Wales, that were ſtill poſſeſſed by the natives; and a third, commanded by the king of England himſelf, with which he propoſed to conquer all Powis-land. But upon his approach to that country, Meredyth ap Blethyn, intimidated by the dread of impending deſtruction, went and delivered himſelf up to his mercy; and Owen ap Cadogan fled to Gryffyth ap Conan. Henry then changed his firſt deſign; and joining his forces with thoſe of the king of Scotland and the earl of Cheſter, invaded North-Wales. But all the people of that realm having retired to the mountains, and carried away all their cattle and proviſions, according to the orders which their king had prudently given, theſe great re-

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regular armies could not purſue them, for want of ſubſiſtence, or from the impracticability of the country itſelf: and ſome detachments, that attempted to do it, were attacked by the enemy in the ſtreights of the mountains, and either cut to pieces, or repulſed with loſs and diſgrace. Under theſe difficulties Henry had recourſe to negociation, and artfully raiſed a jealouſy between Owen and Gryffyth, by making each of them imagine, that the other was treating a ſeparate peace for himſelf. Thus, with the aſſiſtance of Meredyth, whom he chiefly employed in this buſineſs, he brought them both to ſeek his friendſhip, on ſuch conditions as juſt ſufficed to ſave his honor, but were not anſwerable, either to the great deſigns he had formed, or the extraordinary forces he had raiſed. For though, in conſequence of this treaty, a large ſum of money was paid to him by Gryffyth, perhaps as a fine, or compenſation, for the ravages made in Cheſhire and Flintſhire, we are not told, even by the Engliſh or Norman writers, that the Welſh monarch ſubmitted to do him homage. And the fine received was by no means adequate to the expence of the war. Nor did Henry acquire one foot of ground in the kingdom of North-Wales, or drive out any of the ancient inhabitants, or plant any new colonies of Engliſh or Normans, either in that country, or in Powis-land. The earl of Chepſtow indeed appears to have ſubdued thoſe diſtricts of South-Wales

which were then poſſeſt by the natives: for, though the Welſh chronicle takes no notice of what he performed in this war, we find by it ſoon afterwards, that the whole of that kingdom, *as it had been enjoyed by Rhees ap Tewdor*, was in the hands of King Henry; from whence it may be inferred, that the reduction of it was now entirely completed.

But, after ſome years, new diſturbances aroſe in that country, from the pretenſions of Gryffyth the ſon of Rhees; who, when his father was ſlain in the battle againſt Robert Fitz-Haimon, had been conveyed into Ireland, and remained there till the year eleven hundred and thirteen; which was about the twenty fourth or twenty fifth of his age; when he was permitted to return and viſit his ſiſter, who, many years before, had been miſtreſs to Henry, and was mother to Robert earl of Gloceſter. After her commerce with the king was broken off, Gerald de Windſor, a gentleman much eſteemed for his valour and his prudent conduct, being then governor of Pembroke caſtle, obtained her hand, and was made, by her intereſt, lieutenant to Henry over a part of that province. With him Gryffyth was allowed to remain for ſome time, unmoleſted by the king: but ſuſpicions ariſing that he began to carry on intrigues with the Welſh, whoſe affection to their natural princes was ſtill unſubdued in their hearts, orders were ſent to arreſt him; which Welſh Chron. p. 175, 176.

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being informed of, he implored the protection of Gryffyth ap Conan, the friend of his father, who aſſured him, he ſhould be ſafe within the bounds of North-Wales.

Welſh Chron. ut ſupra.

When Henry received intelligence of his being gone thither, he wrote a letter to that king, in terms of great friendſhip, deſiring him to come and confer with him in England: which requeſt being complied with, he received him very honorably, and gave him great preſents, ſuch as the poverty of the kings of North-Wales had not been accuſtomed to, and which therefore had a great effect on his mind. After having thus engaged his affections, he diſcourſed with him in private, concerning the ſon of Rhees ap Tewdor, whom he repreſented as one whoſe ambition would diſturb the peace of all Wales. The integrity of Gryffyth ap Conan was corrupted by theſe ſeductions. When he returned to his kingdom, he commanded a body of ſoldiers, whom he kept in readineſs for his ſervice upon any occaſion, to go and ſeize the perſon of Gryffyth ap Rhees; who, being advertiſed of his danger, took refuge in a church. The Welſh, of all Chriſtian nations, were the moſt ſuperſtitious in the reſpect they paid to holy places, allowing all criminals, even murderers and traitors, to have a ſecure protection there, not only for themſelves, but for their ſervants, and even for their cattle; to feed which laſt conſiderable tracts of paſture

V. Girald. Cambreſ. Cambriæ deſcript. c. 8.

ture land were aſſigned, in the whole compaſs whereof they were ſacred and inviolable. Nay, with relation to ſome of the principal churches, ſuch as that of Aberdaron, to which Gryffyth ap Rhees had recourſe, the right of ſanctuary was extended as far as the cattle could range in a day and return at night. Yet the king of North-Wales, having violated his promiſe, and the laws of hoſpitality, ſcrupled not to infringe the privileges of the church; and ordered the prince to be dragged out of his aſylum by force. In doing this he expoſed his authority to ſome danger. His ſoldiers endeavoured to execute his orders; but they were ſtrongly oppoſed by the whole clergy of the country; with whom the people took part, not only from their bigottry, but from compaſſion and love for an innocent Britiſh prince, the laſt deſcendant of a long line of kings, whoſe memory they reſpected, ſacrificed now, by a perfidious and inhoſpitable policy, to an odious, foreign power. The contention about him continued till night came on; and before morning he was ſecretly conveyed to Stratywy, a woody region of South-Wales; where having aſſembled his friends he made a ſharp war againſt the Flemings and Normans, taking and burning ſome caſtles, and threatening even that of Caermarthyn, which king Henry had made his royal ſeat in that kingdom. Thoſe who had the charge of it, diſtruſting their own ſtrength, as inſufficient to maintain it, ſent for the

Welſh Chron. ut ſupra.

nobles of the country, who were vaſſals to the king, and committed to their cuſtody both the caſtle and town, requiring each of them, with the aſſiſtance of his own men, to defend them by turns, for fourteen days. Owen ap Caradoc, who was a grandſon by his mother to Blethyn ap Convyn, firſt received this commiſſion; and notwithſtanding his near relation to Gryffyth ap Rhees, acted agreeably to the truſt repoſed in him, and the oath of fealty he had taken: for that prince making a ſudden aſſault on the town, he ran to oppoſe him; but, being forſaken in the action by moſt of his men, was ſlain upon the rampart. The town was pillaged and deſtroyed; and Gryffyth returned to the foreſt of Stratywy, like a lion to his den, from whence he frequently iſſued, and ravaged the whole country. The ſpoils his followers had gained in the plunder of Caermarthyn, and the reputation he had won by that exploit, drew to his ſtandard great numbers of his countrymen in South-Wales, who confidently hoped that he would recover the kingdom of his father. Thus ſtrengthened he vigorouſly purſued his ſucceſs, and in a ſhort time deſtroyed two caſtles of the Engliſh; upon the fame of which actions the people of Cardiganſhire voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves to his government; calling him to deliver them from the deteſted and ignominious yoke of the Normans. Much pleaſed with this invitation he entered that country, and by the moſt rapid ſucceſſes made himſelf maſter of

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it as far as Aberiſtwyth, which town he beſieged; but, being there drawn into an ambuſh laid for him, he was defeated, and compelled to quit the province. Nevertheleſs he maintained himſelf againſt all his enemies in the woods of Stratywy, till at laſt king Henry, who had vainly endeavoured to deſtroy him, by ſending againſt him Owen the ſon of Cadogan, a wicked but valliant prince, conſented to aſſign him other lands in South-Wales: but he did not long remain in poſſeſſion of this grant, being driven out, upon accuſations brought againſt him by the Normans, which the Welſh chronicle ſays were falſe. In the mean while, ſome of the Welſh in Powis-land having revolted, the Engliſh monarch once again marched thither in perſon to chaſtiſe the rebels. In paſſing a defile, he was ſtruck by an arrow on the breaſt. If his habergeon, or coat of mail, had not been ſtronger than uſual, the wound would have been mortal: but the ſkill of his armourer ſaved him. We are told by the Welſh chronicle, that this was a mere random ſhot, made at the Engliſh by a Welſhman, who, with others of his countrymen, had been poſted by their maſter, Meredyth ap Blethyn, to guard the paſs. But William of Malmſbury ſays, that Henry was marching, not in the enemy's country, but his own; and that when he felt the blow, he ſwore, *by the death of our Lord*, his uſual oath, that the arrow came not from a Welſh, but Engliſh bow.

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Welſh Chron. from p. 130 to 183.

Welſh Chron. ſub ann. 1122.

De Hen. I. f. 89. c. 30.

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Welſh Chron. ut ſupra.

He never was able to diſcover the traitor: and the danger he had run made him prudently deſirous of ending the war; which he did, ſoon afterwards, by a negociation with Meredyth, who ſubmitted to pay him a thouſand head of cattle, and a ſmall ſum of money, as a fine for the treaſons committed in this inſurrection by himſelf and his nephew; on which terms he very willingly granted to theſe princes pardon and peace, and returned into England. Gryffyth ap Conan, though ſtrongly ſolicited, took no part in this war againſt the Engliſh; nor do I find any proof, that Meredyth was excited to it by a ſecret confederacy with Gryffyth ap Rhees.

[a] Ord. Vital. ſub. ann. 1134, 1135.

A year before the death of Henry, while he was in Normandy, there aroſe ſome diſturbances, in and about thoſe diſtricts of Pembrokeſhire where the Flemings were ſettled. For the natives were impatient of theſe ſtrangers among them; and they, being very ſenſible how much they were hated, killed without mercy, or form of trial, any of the Welſh who were diſcovered by them lurking about in their woods, from an apprehenſion that they came with an intent to commit ſome murder or robbery; which, it muſt be acknowledged, the manners of that people gave them cauſe to ſuſpect. But as bare ſuſpicion could not juſtify ſuch a lawleſs proceeding when the nations were at peace, and fellow-ſubjects under the protection of the

the ſame king, the Welſh were reaſonably provoked at theſe acts of hoſtility, and ſome of the braveſt, who dwelt upon the borders of the Flemiſh plantations, ſuddenly taking up arms, aſſaulted the caſtle of Paine Fitz-John, burnt it to the ground, and maſſacred all the inhabitants, men, women, and children: after which, poſting themſelves in the moſt inacceſſible retreats of their woods, and gathering numbers to join them, they infeſted from thence the whole country of the Flemings. Henry thought this inſurrection of conſequence enough to demand his preſence in Wales at the head of an army, which he prepared for that purpoſe: but the intended expedition was ſtopt by his diſputes with Geoffry, his ſon in law, and by his death, which ſoon followed.

As ſoon as the news of that event was brought into Wales, the ſpirit of revolt became much more diffuſive; and even Gryffyth ap Conan, who, from a perſonal regard for Henry, had been many years a ſteady friend and ally to the Engliſh, now turned againſt them; confederating himſelf with the rebels of South-Wales. King Stephen was hardly ſeated in the throne, when theſe made an incurſion into the county of Pembroke, and cut to pieces a very conſiderable body of Normans: after which, being animated by their ſucceſs, they over-ran the whole country, except the fortified towns and caſtles, maſſa-

V. Geſt. Reg. Steph. p. 930, 931, 932. Continuat. ad Flor. Wigorn. ſub ann. 1135, 1136, 1137. Brompton's Chron. ſub iiſdem annis.

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Welſh Chron. p. 188 to 190.

maſſacring all the foreigners, wherever they came. Richard, eldeſt ſon of Gilbert de Clare, to whom all Cardiganſhire had been given by Henry, was treacherouſly ſlain by Morgan ap Owen, in the courſe of this inſurrection; and the county thus deprived of its chief governor and commander, was furiouſly attacked by Owen Gwyneth and Cadwallader, ſons of Gryffyth ap Conan, who, with the aſſiſtance of ſome nobles, or chieftains, of South-Wales, took and deſtroyed the caſtle of Aberiſtwyth, and two or three others in that province, though ſtrong and well garriſoned. Theſe fortunate beginnings having excited their friends to ſupport them, they received great ſupplies, and were joined by Gryffyth ap Rhees, who had married their ſiſter. The three brothers, with united forces, ſubdued the whole country, as far as to Cardigan, then called Aberteivy, driving out all the foreigners, and peopling it again entirely with Welſh. Againſt them came Stephen, conſtable of Aberteivy, who, after the deceaſe of Gerald de Windſor, had married Neſta, his widow; two ſons of Gerald, and other barons who had eſtates in thoſe parts, with all the power of the Normans and Flemings in Wales or the marches, which they had drawn together, in order to recover what was loſt of the Engliſh dominions, or, at leaſt, to defend what remained. But the valour of the Welſh ſeemed to be raiſed above its uſual pitch, under the conduct of thoſe princes

princes by whom they now were commanded. The Engliſh were routed, and flying to their caſtles were ſo hotly purſued, that great numbers of them were drowned in the river Teivy, by breaking down of a bridge, over which they were paſſing; beſides three thouſand, who were killed in the battle and flight, and many more taken priſoners: inſomuch, that, from the time when the Normans firſt entered Wales, they never before had received ſo great a defeat; nor had their arms been ſo diſgraced in any other country. The Welſh uſed their victory with the utmoſt inhumanity, thinking exceſs of revenge a virtue, and, according to the nature of a barbarous people, knowing no moderation when ſucceſsful. Soon after this battle, the caſtle of Aberteivy, with many diſtricts in other parts of South-Wales, fell into their hands. The ſiſter of the earl of Cheſter, who, after the murder of her huſband, Richard de Clare, had retired to one of his ſtrongeſt caſtles, was now beſieged in that fortreſs by theſe mercileſs enemies, in want of neceſſary proviſions, and expecting, every hour, a fate more cruel than death itſelf: for they had expoſed their female captives, even thoſe of the higheſt rank, to public proſtitution. She quite deſpaired of relief; the Engliſh being all ſlain, or driven out of the country; her brother far off, and ſo taken up in defending the earldom of Cheſter, that he could not be able to bring her a timely aſſiſtance. In this dreadful ſtate ſhe

V. G. Camb. Itiner. Camb. c. ii. l. 1.

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ſhe was preſerved by the courage and good conduct of Milo Fitz-Walter, then conſtable to king Stephen, and afterwards made earl of Hereford by the empreſs Matilda, of whom much has been ſaid in the former book. This nobleman, being in Brecknockſhire, which he had obtained from King Henry together with his wife, the daughter and ſole heireſs of Bernard de Neufmarché the firſt conqueror of that province, received orders from Stephen to uſe his utmoſt efforts to deliver the unfortunate counteſs of Clare. The enterprize appeared to be almoſt impoſſible: but his pity of her diſtreſs, and the gallant ſpirit of Chivalry, no leſs than his obedience to the commands of his ſovereign, made him attempt it. He inſtantly marched, with a body of choſen troops, along the tops of the mountains, and moſt unfrequented paths of the woods with which the country there was covered, and arriving at the caſtle, unſeen by the enemy, who thought it inacceſſible on that ſide to the Engliſh, carried off the lady and all her attendants: an action reſembling thoſe of the knights in romances!

It does not appear, that, during all the courſe of this war, Glamorganſhire ever was attacked by the Welſh; though the opportunity ſeemed to be favorable; the earl of Glouceſter, who was lord of that province by his marriage with the heireſs thereof, having

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having been abſent from thence almoſt the whole time. But as that nobleman, on the mother's ſide, was lineally derived from the kings of South-Wales, and baſtardy, by the cuſtoms and laws of the nation, was accounted no ſtain, the Welſh might naturally conſider him as a prince of their own, and for this reaſon might allow him a portion of that kingdom his anceſtors had enjoyed; eſpecially as he was alſo the ſon of a king whom they had greatly reſpected.

When the conqueſt of Cardiganſhire was entirely completed, the land was divided among the confederates. In the following year, eleven hundred and thirty ſeven, died Gryffyth ap Rhees, who, in the Welſh chronicle, is called *the light, honor, and prop of South-Wales*; and his death was quickly followed by that of Gryffyth ap Conan, ſtyled by the ſame hiſtorian *the only defence and ſhield of all Wales*. Both indeed were princes of uncommon abitities, eſpecially the latter, who had reigned fifty years in a country ſo liable to changes of government, and by his valour and policy, had not only preſerved it from inteſtine commotions, but freed it from its former ſubjection to England. After his death his dominions were divided among his ſons; but the ſovereignty was in the eldeſt, Owen Gwyneth. They continued ſometime in fraternal concord and amity one with another; their ambition being employed

Welſh Chron. from p. 191 to 194.

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ployed in endeavouring to expel the Engliſh and Flemings from every part of South-Wales. At the beginning of Owen's reign, he and his brothers made an inroad into that kingdom; took ſome caſtles that the Normans had lately built in Caermarthynſhire; and burned to the ground, a ſecond time, the town of Caermarthyn. King Stephen ſuffered much, both in reputation and dominion, by all theſe loſſes in Wales: but a nearer concern employed his thoughts, how to ſecure to himſelf the crown of England. The urgent neceſſity of reſiſting the attempts of the Welſh had been aſſigned as a reaſon for giving him that crown; but he judged it more neceſſary to reſtrain and ſubdue the opponents of his title than the enemies of his kingdom; and therefore left the defence of the Engliſh territories in Wales, and the bordering counties of England, to thoſe who were more immediately intereſted in them, the proprietors of the lands, and the lords of the marches; only ſupplying them with large ſums of money: which proving ineffectual, he thought it expedient to make peace with the Welſh, by leaving them all they had conquered, free of homage or tribute. At leaſt it does not appear, that any ſuch mark of his ſovereignty over them was ever paid to him by any of their princes in North or South-Wales. Yet, by theſe ſhameful conceſſions he only ſtopped them a while from further hoſtilities; but loſt for ever

ever the affections of all his Engliſh ſubjects in Wales and the borders. It appears that all the noble families, except that of Clare, which had any poſſeſſions or grants within the Welſh confines, and all the counties of England contiguous to Wales, declared for Matilda, and adhered to her, during the whole civil war. Nor did the treaty made with Stephen prevent the Welſh princes from ſtrengthening the earl of Gloceſter with a numerous body of auxiliary forces. In the latter years of this reign, the ſons of Gerald de Windſor, and Gilbert de Clare earl of Pembroke, made ſome attempts to recover thoſe diſtricts of South-Wales, which the above-mentioned peace had abandoned to the Welſh, particularly the provinces of Caermarthyn and Cardigan: but they were driven out again by the ſons of Owen Gwyneth and of Gryffyth ap Rhees, after having been defeated in ſeveral battles, and having loſt ſome caſtles, which Gilbert de Clare had rebuilt. Another very ſtrong one, in Flintſhire, had been often unſucceſsfully beſieged by the Welſh, and the garriſon of it much infeſted the neighbouring country, till Owen himſelf came before it, and, notwithſtanding a very obſtinate and valiant defence, took it by ſtorm, and immediately levelled it to the ground. A little before he began this ſiege, he had loſt a favorite ſon, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many brave actions againſt the Engliſh. The weight of

Welſh Chron. from. p. 197 to p. 199.

Welſh Chron. p. 9).

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that affliction lay heavy on his mind: he ſeemed entirely deprived of all ſenſe of joy: but the glory of this atchievement ſo raiſed his ſpirits, that he ſhook off his grief, and returned to his former pleaſures. If all the Welſh had united under this martial prince, during the weakneſs and confuſion which the long civil war between Stephen and Matilda had brought upon England, they might have driven all the foreigners out of their country: but the diſſentions that aroſe among their own chiefs interrupted their victories, diminiſhed their force, and made ſome of them friends and confederates to the Engliſh. Madoc ap Meredyth, who then was maſter of almoſt all Powis-land, diſdaining to hold it under the ſovereignty of North-Wales, joined his arms to the earl of Cheſter's, which had been lately victorious againſt the Welſh in thoſe parts, and made an incurſion with him into the territories of Owen. That prince gave them battle; and though their forces were much ſuperior to his, both in numbers and in arms, he entirely routed them, and cut to pieces, or took priſoners, moſt of their men; but the leaders eſcaped by the aſſiſtance of their horſes; the conquering army having none. Hot incurſions were likewiſe made by the ſons of Gryffyth ap Rhees into the territories of Madoc, to revenge his treaſon againſt his country; for ſuch they eſteemed his confederacy with the Engliſh: but while their arms were thus em-

Welſh Chron. from p. 199 to p. 204.

employed, or turned againſt the ſons of Owen, with whom they often had diſputes on the diviſion of conqueſts, the Engliſh and Flemings in South-Wales recovered ſtrength, and were enabled to defend their long-diſputed poſſeſſions.

Such was the ſtate of all Wales, and of the Engliſh plantations, or ſettlements, which had been made there by conqueſt, when Henry the Second aſcended the throne of England. The general character of the Welſh, as it was in thoſe days, has been given with ſo much accuracy, ſpirit, and judgment, in the writings of Giraldus Cambrenſis, a celebrated contemporary author, and one who was himſelf related to them in blood, that I think it will be proper to collect what he has ſaid in different places, and ſet the whole picture before the eyes of the reader. He tells us, that not only the nobility and gentry, but the whole people of Wales, were univerſally addicted to arms: that they gave no attention to commerce, navigation, or mechanical arts, and but little to agriculture; depending for ſuſtenance chiefly on their cattle; and diſliking, or rather diſdaining, any labour, except the toils of war and hunting, in which, from their infancy, they trained themſelves up with unwearied alacrity; military exerciſes, or the ſevereſt fatigues in the woods and mountains, being their conſtant diverſions in

V. Girald. Cambrenſ. Cambriæ deſcript. c. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 17, 18. et Itiner. Camb. l. ii. c. 5. et librum ejuſd. de Illaudabilibus Walliæ.

times of peace. Their bodies were naturally not robuſt; but, by this manner of life, they became exceedingly active, hardy, and dextrous in the uſe of their arms, and ever ready to take them up, when occaſion required it. To fight for their country, and loſe their lives in defence of its honor and liberty, was their chief pride: but to die in their beds they thought diſgraceful.

A very honorable teſtimony was given to their valour by King Henry the Second, in a letter to the Greek emperor, Emanuel Comnenus. This prince having deſired that an account might be ſent him of all that was moſt remarkable in the iſland of Britain, Henry, in anſwer to that requeſt, was pleaſed to take notice, among other particulars, of the extraordinary courage and fierceneſs of the Welſh, *who were not afraid to fight unarmed with enemies armed at all points, willingly ſhedding their blood in the cauſe of their country, and purchaſing glory at the expence of their lives.* But theſe words muſt not be taken in too ſtrict a ſenſe, as if they had abſolutely worn no armour: for they uſed ſmall and light targets, which were commonly made of hides, and ſometimes of iron: but, except their breaſts, which theſe guarded, all the reſt of their bodies was left defenceleſs; nor did they cover their heads with caſques, or helmets; ſo that in compariſon of the Engliſh, or other nations of Europe,

Europe, they might be called *unarmed*. Their offenſive weapons were arrows, and long pikes, or ſpears, which were of great uſe againſt cavalry; and theſe they, occaſionally, either puſhed with, or darted; in which exerciſe the whole nation was wonderfully expert; but, more eſpecially the men of North-Wales, who had pikes ſo ſtrong and well-pointed, that they would pierce through an iron coat of mail: but thoſe of South-Wales, and, particularly the province of Guent, or Monmouth, which was then a part of that kingdom, were accounted the beſt archers, not being inferior, in the uſe of the long bow, to the Normans themſelves.

The common people fought on foot; but ſome of the nobility began now to ride upon horſes bred in their own country, which were high-mettled, and ſwift, but not very ſtrong: and even theſe gentlemen would frequently diſmount, both in combating, and when they fled; the nature of their country, as well as their diſcipline, being better adapted to foot than horſe. Their firſt onſet was terrible; but, if ſtoutly reſiſted, they ſoon gave ground, and could never be rallied; in which they reſembled other barbarous nations, and particularly the Britons and Celts, their forefathers. Yet, though defeated, and diſperſed, they were not ſubdued; but preſently returned to make war

again upon thoſe from whom they had fled, by ambuſcades and night marches, or by ſudden aſſaults, when they were leaſt expected; in which their agility, ſpirit, and impetuoſity, made up what they wanted in weight and firmneſs: ſo that, although they were eaſily overcome in a battle by regular troops, they were with great difficulty vanquiſhed in a war. The ſame vivacity which animated their hearts inſpired their tongues. They were of quick and ſharp wit; naturally eloquent, and ready in ſpeaking, without any awe or concern, before their ſuperiors, or in publick aſſemblies. But from this fire in their tempers they were all very paſſionate, vindictive, and ſanguinary in their reſentments: nor was their revenge only ſudden and violent, when they received any perſonal injury or affront, or while the ſting of it was recent in their minds; but it was frequently carried back, by a falſe ſenſe of honor, even to very remote and traditional quarrels, in which any of their family had been ever engaged. For not only the nobles and gentry, but even the loweſt among them, had each by heart his own genealogy, together with which he retained a conſtant remembrance of every injury, diſgrace, or loſs, his forefathers had ſuffered, and thought it would be degeneracy not to reſent it as perſonal to himſelf: ſo that the vanity of this people, with regard to their families, ſerved to perpetuate implacable feuds, and a kind

a kind of civil war among private men; beſides the diſſentions it excited among their kings and chief lords, which proved the deſtruction of their national union, and conſequently broke their national ſtrength.

They were in their nature very light and inconſtant, eaſily impelled to any undertaking, even the moſt wicked and dangerous, and as eaſily induced to quit it again; deſirous of change, and not to be held by any bonds of faith or oaths, which they violated without ſcruple or ſenſe of ſhame, both in publick and private tranſactions. To plunder and rob was ſcarce accounted diſhonorable among them, even when committed againſt their own countrymen, much leſs againſt foreigners. They hardly ever married without a prior cohabitation; it being cuſtomary for parents to let out their daughters to young men upon trial, for a ſum of money paid down, and under a penalty, agreed upon between them, if the girls were returned. The people in general, and more eſpecially their princes and nobles, gave themſelves up to exceſſive lewdneſs; but were remarkably temperate in eating and drinking, conſtantly faſting till evening, and then making a ſober meal; unleſs when they were entertained at the tables of foreigners, where they indulged themſelves immoderately, both in liquor and food, paſſing at once from their habit of abſtinence to the

moſt riotous and brutal exceſs: but, nevertheleſs, when they came home, they returned with great eaſe to their former courſe of life; and none of their nobles were led by the example of the Engliſh, to run out their fortunes by a profuſeneſs in keeping a table. No kind of luxury was yet introduced into their manner of living; not even a decent convenience, or neatneſs. They ſeemed to be proud of not wanting thoſe delicacies which other nations are proud of enjoying. Their kings indeed, and a few of their principal nobles, had built ſome caſtles, in imitation of the Engliſh; but moſt of their gentry ſtill continued to dwell in huts made of wattles, and ſituated in ſolitudes, by the ſides of the woods, as moſt convenient for hunting and paſture, or for a retreat, in time of war. They had no gardens, nor orchards, nor any improvements about their dwellings, which they commonly changed every year, and removed to other places (as the Britons and Celts, their anceſtors, had been accuſtomed to do) for the ſake of freſh paſture and a new ſupply of game.

Their furniture was as ſimple and mean as their houſes, ſuch as might anſwer the mere neceſſities of groſs and uncivilized nature. The only elegance among them was muſick, which they were ſo fond of, that in every family there generally were ſome who played on the harp; and ſkill in that inſtrument

inſtrument was valued by them more than all other knowledge. This greatly contributed to keep up that chearfulneſs, which was more univerſal and conſtant in the Welſh than in the Saxons or Normans.

Notwithſtanding their poverty they were ſo hoſpitable, that every man's houſe was open to all; and thus no wants were felt by the moſt indigent, nor was there a beggar in the nation. When any ſtranger, or traveller came to a houſe, he uſed no other ceremony, than, at his firſt entrance, to deliver his arms into the hands of the maſter, who thereupon offered to waſh his feet; which if he accepted, it was underſtood to ſignify his intention of ſtaying there all night; and none who did ſo was refuſed. Whatever the number or quality of their gueſts might happen to be, the maſter and miſtreſs of the houſe waited on them, and would not ſit down at table with them, or taſte any food, till they had ſupped. The fire was placed in the middle of the room, on each ſide of which was ſpread a coarſe bed of hemp over a thin mat of ruſhes, where the whole family and their gueſts ſlept together, without even a curtain betwixt them. Their feet lay always next to the fire, which, being kept burning all night, ſupplied the want of bedcloths, for they had no covering but the cloaths they wore in the day.

It was cuſtomary among them to receive in a morning large companies of young men, who, following no occupation but arms, whenever they were not in action ſtrolled over the country, and entered into any houſe that they found in their way; where they were entertained, till the evening, with the muſick of the harp and free converſation with the young women of the family: upon which Giraldus Cambrenſis makes this remark, that of all the nations in the univerſe none were more jealous of their women than the Iriſh, or leſs than the Welſh. In other reſpects their manners ſo nearly agreed, when that author wrote, as to diſcover the marks of a Celtic origin common to both.

V. Tacitum in vita Agricolæ, c. 21.

One is ſurpriſed in obſerving how abſolutely the Britons, after their retreat into Wales, loſt all the culture they had received from the Romans, and, inſtead of refining the ancient inhabitants of that part of the iſland, relapſed themſelves into their rude and barbarous manners. This is the more wonderful, becauſe the Latin tongue and no contemptible ſhare of its learning were long preſerved in their publick ſchools, and continued, though indeed in a declining ſtate, even down to the times of which I write. They had alſo retained the profeſſion of the Chriſtian religion, but debaſed with groſs ſuperſtitions: Giraldus Cambrenſis informs us, that they paid, in his days, a more devout

vout reverence to churches and churchmen, to the relicks of ſaints, to croſſes, and to bells, than any other nation. Whenever any of them happened to meet a monk, or other eccleſiaſtick, they inſtantly threw down their arms, and bowing their heads, implored his benediction. When they undertook a journey into any foreign country, or when they married, or were enjoined by their confeſſors any public penance, they paid a full tenth of all their goods, which they called *the great tythe*, in the proportion of two parts to the church wherein they had been baptized, and one to their biſhop. How far they carried their reſpect to aſylums and ſanctuaries has already been mentioned. The exceſs of their ſuperſtition with relation to this point is cenſured by Giraldus Cambrenſis himſelf, as great a bigot as he was; and it certainly muſt have been one principal cauſe, why ſo many murders and other crimes were committed among them. Their hermits were celebrated for ſeverer auſterities than any others in Europe, the vehemence of their temper carrying their virtues, as well as vices, into extremes. Pilgrimages to Rome were their favorite mode of devotion, though they had many ſaints of their own nation, whoſe ſhrines they adored with the blindeſt ſuperſtition. In ſhort, their religion, for the moſt part, was ſo different from genuine Chriſtianity, that either it was prejudicial to civil ſociety, or did it no good.

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Welſh Chron. p. 205.

The firſt act of government, relating to Wales, that we find to have been done by Henry the Second, was his ſtrengthening the colony of Flemings in Pembrokeſhire, by allowing ſome of the Flemiſh mercenaries, whom, in the firſt year of his reign, he baniſhed out of England, to go to their countrymen eſtabliſhed in that province, and ſettle among them. This was a very prudent and politick meaſure. For they were as ſerviceable there to him and his realm, as they had been hurtful in England. The former plantation, after the Welſh had ſubdued the bordering provinces, had with invincible courage maintained their ground, till the deceaſe of King Stephen. A ceſſation of hoſtilities on the part of the Welſh ſoon followed that event: their princes becoming jealous the one of the other, and more inclined to diſpute among themſelves the poſſeſſion of the conqueſts they had made, than to attempt more, either ſeparately, or confederated together. This reinforcement of brave and veteran ſoldiers was therefore ſufficient to defend the Flemiſh colony; and Henry was contented with thus fortifying that part of South-Wales which was ſtill poſſeſſed by his ſubjects: but as, in the late civil war, his mother had been affectionately ſerved by the Welſh, and he was embarraſſed with ſeveral more urgent affairs at the beginning of his reign, he ſuffered their princes to retain the provinces, which, under that of his prede-

predeceſſor, they had recovered from the Engliſh: yet not by a ceſſion of them, or any acknowledgement of the right of thoſe princes; but by a bare acquieſcence, which left him at liberty to aſſert his own pretenſions to the dominion thereof, and the claim of his ſubjects to the lands, at a more proper ſeaſon. All Powis-land, except ſome diſtricts between the Wye and the Severne, which were held of his crown by the earl of Cheſter and other barons of England, was then under the government of Madoc ap Meredyth, his friend and vaſſal. But the conduct of this prince had rendered him ſo obnoxious to the reſt of his countrymen, and more eſpecially to Owen Gwyneth, that, with a view to his future ſecurity, he diligently employed all his credit with Henry, to incite him to make war againſt North-Wales, in order to reduce it under its former ſubjection to England. Theſe inſtigations were vehemently enforced by Cadwallader, brother to Owen; who, having killed his own ſon-in-law, the eldeſt ſon of Gryffyth, late prince of South-Wales, in ſingle combat, upon a ſudden quarrel, had been driven out of his country by Owen himſelf, and was now an exile in the court of England; where he ſued to the king for aid to recover his lands. In this ſuit he was aſſiſted by all the relations and friends of his wife, a lady of the noble and powerful houſe of Clare. But, more than all their perſuaſions, the deſire

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Itiner. Camb. l. ii. c. 10. Chron. Norm. p. 993. Gul. Neubrig. l. ii. p. 383, 384.

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Gerv. Chron. M. Weſtm. et Annales de Waverlen ſub ann. 1157. Welſh Chron. ſub eod. ann. Brompton Chron. ſub ann. 1158.

deſire of glory, and a juſt ſenſe of the importance of the object propoſed to him, urged Henry on to this war. He thought it would be a reproach, and a ſtain to his honor, if he ſhould ſuffer any longer a petty prince of North-Wales, whoſe predeceſſors had been tributaries and vaſſals to England in former times, to hold his dominions independent on him, whoſe empire extended ſo far beyond that of any other monarch, that ever had reigned in this iſland. Nor could he, in the high and flouriſhing ſtate of his kingdom, be eaſy under the loſs of thoſe provinces of South-Wales, which the weakneſs of Stephen's government, amidſt the diſtractions of civil war, had enabled the Welſh to reconquer from the Engliſh; eſpecially, as neither the ſons of Gryffyth ap Rhees, nor thoſe of Owen Gwyneth, had ever done him homage for the territories they held in any parts of that country. He knew, that none of his ſubjects, who ſtill retained their poſſeſſions within the limits of Wales, could hope to enjoy a laſting tranquillity, unleſs he ſubdued the arrogance of thoſe ambitious princes, and forced them to acknowledge that he was their ſovereign. There was no enterprize, which could be undertaken by him in foreign parts, ſo neceſſary as this; or of equal advantage to his *great intereſt*; that is, to the intereſt of his *regal dominions*. He therefore reſolved to attempt it, and having drawn out of the whole

whole militia of England a very great army, he led it through Cheſhire into Flintſhire, and advanced towards Baſingwerk, a caſtle built by an earl of Cheſter, which the Welſh, in the late reign, had taken and demoliſhed. At this place, or nigh to it, Owen Gwyneth lay encamped, with all the forces he could collect out of a populous nation, in which (excepting the clergy) every man was a ſoldier. He ſeemed determined to ſtay there and give battle to the king; but this appearance was only an artifice, to draw the Engliſh into a narrow and difficult paſs, between two ranges of hills, where he had ſecretly placed a numerous ambuſcade, under the command of his ſons. Henry, too confident in the ſtrength of his army, and not conſulting enough with thoſe who had a more perfect knowledge of the country, fell into the ſnare, and paid dearly for his raſhneſs. When he and his vanguard were engaged in the middle of theſe ſtreights, the Welſh, riſing at once, with the moſt horrible outcries, from under the cover of the woods, that hung over the ſteep and rocky ſides of the paſs, aſſaulted them with ſtones, arrows, and other miſſile weapons. The diſadvantage of the place, the confuſion they were thrown into, the diſmay that came upon them, quite diſabled them from reſiſting this unexpected attack. Two great barons, Euſtace Fitz-John and Robert de Courcy, were ſlain. Henry finding it impoſſible

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Vid. auctores citat. ut ſupra.

poſſible to advance any further, endeavoured to retire back to the entrance of the ſtreights, and with much difficulty performed it; but moſt of the troops, which had compoſed his vanguard, were miſerably deſtroyed, before he was able to diſengage, either them, or himſelf, from this fatal ſituation. Some, who eſcaped by flight, carried their fear along with them, and meeting the reſt of the army, who were advancing in good order to the entrance of the paſs, ſpread among them a report of the death of the king: upon which, Henry de Eſſex, hereditary ſtandard-bearer of England, was ſeized with ſuch a terror, that he threw to the ground the royal ſtandard, and cried aloud, "The king is ſlain!" The conſternation became general; the troops fell into diſorder; the Welſh perceiving it, iſſued forth, and attacked them with great fury; the whole army would have been routed in the moſt ſhameful manner, if Henry, at this inſtant, had not ſhewn himſelf to them, and, with a countenance full of alacrity, encouraged, rallied, and led them on to the charge. Animated by the joy of ſeeing him ſafe, they quickly drove the enemy back into the wood. He then drew off his forces, and encamping them in a ſtation where he had nothing to fear, deliberating with his barons ond other principal officers, what meaſures he ſhould purſue in the management of the war, againſt ſuch dangerous enemies, whoſe

valour he found ſo prudently conducted. The plan, he now formed, was, to leave upon his left the tract of woody hills, through which he had ſo unhappily attempted to paſs, and march along the ſea-ſhore, till he ſhould get beyond Baſingwerk, to the back of the poſt the Welſh had taken; at the ſame time ordering his fleet (as Harold had done) to cruize along the coaſts, and make deſcents upon the open parts of the country. But, when Owen was informed of theſe reſolutions, he retired to a ſtrong poſt in the mountains of Snowden, and there encamped. Henry immediately ſubdued all Flintſhire; and, to ſecure his poſſeſſion, made roads for an army to paſs without difficulty through the whole province; cut down the woods; rebuilt the important caſtles of Ruthlan and Baſingwerk; began that of Flint; and founded a houſe for the Knights Templars, which was a new kind of garriſon, unknown before in that country, but as uſeful as any other to bridle the Welſh. While he was employed in theſe works, Owen, dreading the conſequences of their being completed, came down from the mountains, and advanced to the borders of Flintſhire. Several ſkirmiſhes happened afterwards between the two armies, but no general action; the Welſh prince being afraid to venture a battle in an open or level country, and the king of England, inſtructed by the loſs he had ſuffered, as carefully avoiding to expoſe him-

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ſelf, or his army, to any more ambuſcades. In the mean time a great fleet, aſſembled at Cheſter by his orders, had ſailed from that harbour, and aſſiſted his operations in Flintſhire; after which he ſent it to infeſt the other coaſts of North-Wales, under the command of Madoc ap Meredyth, whom he employed in this ſervice, to render the enmity between him and his countrymen more irreconcileable. Some of the forces of that prince, in conjunction with the Engliſh, made a deſcent on the iſle of Angleſey; where they ravaged the country, and plundered even the churches, without reſiſtance: but as they were returning to their ſhips, overloaded with ſpoils, the whole ſtrength of the iſle fell ſuddenly upon them, and cut them to pieces. Yet, though this attempt was ſo unfortunate, Owen, finding himſelf unable to hinder the Engliſh from ſubduing or deſolating the moſt fertile parts of his maritime provinces, and preventing the importation of corn from abroad, was very uneaſy for fear of wanting proviſions, if he ſhould either remain long in the poſt he had taken, or ſhut himſelf up with his army in the deſarts of Snowden. He therefore ſued for peace; which Henry granted him on ſuch terms, as were both advantageous and honorable to England; namely, that Owen ſhould do him homage, yield up all the diſtricts and caſtles in North-Wales, which, during the reign of King Stephen, had been

V. auctores citat. ut ſupra.

won from the Engliſh, and deliver two of his ſons as hoſtages for his future fidelity. He alſo obliged him to reſtore the lands of his brother Cadwallader; by which that prince was confirmed in his attachment to England, and others of the Welſh nation were encouraged to deſire its protection and favor. Having obtained theſe great points, and put ſtrong garriſons in the caſtles of Ruthlan and Baſingwerk, he left the remains of the war to be proſecuted by the Lords of the Marches againſt the inferior Welſh princes, who, he ſuppoſed, would not long continue in arms, after Owen had ſubmitted. Nor was he miſtaken in his judgment. For, at the beginning of the following year, all the princes of South-Wales, except Rhees ap Gryffyth, and all the leſſer chieftains and nobles of that country, came to him in England, and there received from him the conditions of a peace, which he accorded to them on their making a full ceſſion to him of all the territories or lordſhips, which had been won from the crown or ſubjects of England in the reign of his predeceſſor, and doing him homage for their own patrimonial eſtates. As for Powis-land, the much greater part of that country was then under the government of Madoc ap Meredyth, who held it of him by liege homage; and the reſt was in the hands of ſeveral Engliſh lords, except perhaps a few diſtricts, conquered from them

V. auctores citat. ut ſupra

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by the Welſh during the courſe of the war, and allowed by the king to continue in their poſſeſſion, upon their becoming his vaſſals. But no quiet or perfect ſettlement could be made of South-Wales, while Rhees ap Gryffyth remained unconquered. The great ſpirit of that prince could not patiently endure to ſee the dominions, which for many ages had belonged to his illuſtrious anceſtors, torn by the arms of ambitious foreigners from him and his children. He commanded his people to remove their flocks, herds, and other goods, to the deſart of Tywy, and made war on the king of England, though deſerted and betrayed by all his confederates. Henry, who eſteemed his courage and magnanimity, ſent him a friendly invitation to come to his court, with an aſſurance that he ſhould be graciouſly and kindly received; but threatened, if he refuſed the favor offered to him, that the whole power of England and Wales ſhould be employed to bring him thither. Having conſulted with his friends what anſwer to return, and being adviſed by them to go, he followed their counſel; and the king, receiving his homage, gave him the ancient demeſne of his anceſtors in South-Wales; but not without taking from him, as hoſtages for his fidelity, two of his ſons; a like ſecurity having been exacted from all the other Welſh princes. Thus was concluded this troubleſome and very dangerous war, with great honor to Henry,

Henry, who, in the iſſue of it, recovered all the Engliſh poſſeſſions within the confines of Wales, which Stephen had loſt; and did that, which neither his grandfather, King Henry the Firſt, nor William Rufus could do, reſtored to England its ſovereignty over the whole nation, by forcing not only the inferior princes, but the king of North-Wales himſelf, to hold his territories as a vaſſal, under homage and fealty.

Some years after theſe events, a quarrel ariſing between Henry de Eſſex and Robert de Montfort, the former was publickly reproached by the latter for his cowardly behaviour in this war, and accuſed of high-treaſon. Henry had called him to no account for it, at the time when it happened; imputing it only to a ſudden impreſſion of terror, and not to a wilful or criminal treachery, which there does not ſeem to have been the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect. Military diſcipline, indeed, might require him to be puniſhed, and the king was ſtrict in that diſcipline (as a wiſe prince will always be); but, in this inſtance, his regard for the honor of a family, which both in blood and alliances was very illuſtrious, and ſome compaſſion for an unhappy moment of weakneſs, which future actions might atone for, prevailed over that rigour, which, neceſſary as it is, may ſometimes give way to the dictates of humanity, even for reaſons

V. Neubrig. l. ii. c. 5. Brompt Chr. ſub ann. 1158.

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Vid. Fitz-Stephen in vitâ S. Thomæ.

of prudence. Henry de Eſſex ſerved afterwards in the war of Toulouſe without reproach: but this unfortunate quarrel happening, and one of his peers thus arraigning him of a capital crime, he either demanded himſelf a trial by duel (leſs improper in this caſe than, perhaps, in any other) or agreed to it when offered by his accuſer: and the king, though he diſapproved that barbarous method of trial (as I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter) could not avoid allowing it at the requeſt of both the parties. He therefore appointed the liſts according to law: the combat was fought in his preſence: Henry de Eſſex was vanquiſhed by his braver antagoniſt; and, if he had ſuffered the legal penalties, muſt have been ignominiouſly put to death, or, at leaſt, have loſt his eyes; but the king, with his uſual clemency, mitigated that doom; permitting him to take the habit of a monk in the abbey of Reading; the only ſtate proper for him; as the rules of Chivalry in thoſe days would not allow him to continue any longer in the world, or hold lands by knight's ſervice, under ſuch a load of publick diſhonor.

Hoved. Ann. par. ii. et Chron. Mailros. ſub ann. 1157.

During the courſe of the year eleven hundred and fifty ſeven, while Henry was at Cheſter, Malcolm the Third, king of Scotland, came to wait upon him there, and do him homage for the fiefs he held of England, which he did *with a ſaving to all his royal dignities*,

nities. The next year he again attended a great council, held by Henry at Carliſle, and was very deſirous of receiving from the hands of that monarch the honor of knighthood: but ſome difference, unaccounted for by any hiſtorian, ariſing between them, Henry would not then confer upon him that favour. Yet they ſtill continued friends; and, whatever this cloud of diſſatisfaction might be, it was ſoon diſſipated. The Chriſtmas feſtival of the year eleven hundred and fifty eight being celebrated at Lincoln by Henry, upon his return from Carliſle, he wore his crown, as in ſuch ſolemnities it was cuſtomary to do; but held his court *in the ſuburbs*, from regard to an ancient ſuperſtition, which ſuppoſed that great calamities would befal any king who ſhould be crowned *in that city*. Stephen had been the firſt who publickly deſpiſed, and acted againſt this abſurd opinion; but the crown having been afterwards taken from his family, it was confirmed more than ever in the minds of the vulgar. Henry yielded to a folly he could not remove, and, perhaps, in ſo doing he acted wiſely: but although he complied with the people in this inſtance, he did not think with them, if we may judge by his behaviour on another occaſion. For Giraldus Cambrenſis tells us, that as he made ſome ſtay at St. David's, on his return out of Ireland, a woman of the country brought a complaint to him againſt the biſhop, which not being inſtantly anſwered by him

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Hoveden, ſub ann. 1158.

Neubrig. l. ii. c. 9.

Hibernia expugnata, l. i. c. 37.

in the manner ſhe deſired, ſhe cried out, with great vehemence, ſcreaming and clapping her hands, *Avenge us Lech-laver, avenge our nation, this day, of this man:* nor could ſhe be hindered, by the endeavours of thoſe who were preſent, from often repeating theſe words. Now, this *Lech-laver*, whoſe vengeance ſhe ſo wildly invoked, was a great ſtone, ten feet in length and ſix in breadth, which lay acroſs a ſmall rivulet, in the cathedral church-yard. Probably it had been one of thoſe conſecrated ſtones, which the ancient druids erected in many parts of this iſland; and though Chriſtianity had long aboliſhed the worſhip, the ſuperſtition of the Welſh might ſtill aſcribe to it ſome miraculous power: but what this woman alluded to was a prediction very famous among them, and ſuppoſed to have been delivered by their great prophet, Merlin, that a king of England returning from the conqueſt of Ireland ſhould die upon Lech-laver. Henry, being informed of this by the perſons about him, went and looked at the ſtone for a few moments, and then paſſing over it ſaid aloud to all there, *Who will hereafter have any faith in the liar Merlin?* From whence I conclude, that he would not have been afraid of being crowned within the walls of Lincoln, if he could as eaſily have ſhewn the vanity of that prophecy, as he did of this; or if he had not judged that the ſuperſtitions of his ſubjects in England required more complaiſance from him than thoſe of the Welſh.

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In the ſame year, eleven hundred and fifty eight, was completed a very great and difficult work, which the king had begun two years before; namely, the reſtoring of the money of his kingdom to its due weight and fineneſs. From the continual wants and diſorders of government during the reign of King Stephen, it had been ſo debaſed, that Henry ſaw a neceſſity, for the ſake of the national commerce, to call in the whole and recoin it; an act the more meritorious, as it does not appear that any aid was granted to the crown for defraying the expence of it, or any loſs ſuſtained by the owners of the ſpecie thus brought to the mint! Together with the reſt was gathered in and melted down all that money, which, during the late unhappy times of anarchy and confuſion, many of the barons, uſurping the exerciſe of royal authority, had dared to coin in their own names: and this ſufficiently accounts for none of thoſe coins having ever been found. It was indeed very proper, not to let any memorials remain to poſterity, of ſuch a violation of the rights of our monarchy, in one of its greateſt and moſt eſſential prerogatives.

Diceto et Annales Waverl. ſub ann. 1158. Hoveden ſub ann. 1156.

The kingdom of England enjoying now a perfect tranquillity, Henry went over to Normandy, where ſome affairs of importance demanded his preſence. By the death of Conan le Gros, late duke of Bretagne, that dutchy had

Neubrig. l. ii. c. 7. Chron. Norm. p. 992. 964. Argentré Hiſt. de Bretagne, l. iv. c. 15.

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had been thrown into great troubles and diſorders. For this prince having diſinherited his ſon Hoel on an uncertain ſuſpicion of baſtardy, Eudo earl of Pontieure (now called Pentievre) laid claim to the ſucceſſion in right of Bertha, his wife, the eldeſt daughter of Conan, whom he had married after the deceaſe of Alan earl of Richmond and of the lower Bretagne, her firſt huſband. But the inhabitants of the city and earldom of Nantes, having an affection for Hoel, who, they thought, was unjuſtly deprived of his inheritance, put themſelves under his government. While they were engaged in a war with the earl of Pontieure on this account, his wife Bertha died: which event produced immediately a new competition; Conan le Petit, her ſon by the earl of Richmond, laying claim to the dutchy, and Eudo, his father-in-law, refuſing to reſign it. Much blood was ſhed in this quarrel, but, after various ſucceſſes, the baron de Fougeres, who fought for Conan, took Eudo priſoner; whereupon almoſt all the nobility of Bretagne did homage to the former. During the courſe of theſe troubles the inhabitants of Nantes and its earldom had remained for ſome time under the dominion of Hoel; but finding by experience that he was deficient in ſenſe and courage they afterwards drove him out, as incapable of the government to which they had called him; and he probably died very ſoon, or retired into a convent; no further

Vid. auctores citat. ut ſuprà.

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mention being made of him in the hiſtory of thoſe times. Nevertheleſs his late ſubjects, inſtead of ſubmitting to Conan, elected for their ruler, Prince Geoffry Plantagenet, who, having been lately diſappointed in his deſigns upon Anjou, gladly embraced this occaſion of advancing his fortune. Nor did his brother, King Henry, oppoſe their choice: but on the contrary (if we may believe an hiſtorian of Bretagne) ſupported him againſt Conan; the goodneſs of his nature overcoming all thoſe ſentiments of reſentment, which the paſt behaviour of this prince might have reaſonably excited. And indeed, without his aſſiſtance, the people of Nantes muſt have found it a very difficult enterprize, to maintain that province thus divided from the reſt of the dutchy. He did not even avail himſelf of this new proviſion made for Geoffry, to withdraw from him the penſion he had ſettled upon him. But a long poſſeſſion of either was not granted by Providence to this unfortunate prince. Within leſs than two years from his election he died, and left no iſſue. Preſently after his deceaſe Conan ſeized on the earldom as belonging to the dutchy: but King Henry laid claim to it, as heir to his brother, who, I preſume, left it to him by a teſtamentary ſettlement, with the conſent of the citizens and vaſſals of the earldom: for otherwiſe it would be difficult to make out his title; ſince what Geoffry had poſſeſt, not by blood, but election, could never deſcend

Argentrê. l. iv. c. 52.

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ſcend from that prince to his elder brother by right of inheritance. But he might deſire on his death-bed, to atone in this manner for his former rebellions againſt him; and his will might be ratified by the nobility and the people; who having offended, by their paſt conduct, both Conan and Eudo, were afraid of ſubmitting to either of thoſe princes, and could find no potentate who was ſo able to defend them againſt both as Henry Plantagenet. How far they were juſtified in denying obedience to Conan, after the expulſion of Hoel, may be matter of doubt. The beſt excuſe for it is, the latitude, which the ancient Britiſh cuſtoms, that continued to prevail, with regard to the government, there as well as in Wales, gave to the community in diſpoſing of the right of ſucceſſion. But, whether the title of Henry was juſt or unjuſt, he did not much apprehend any oppoſition thereto, unleſs a jealouſy of his further aggrandiſement in France ſhould induce Louis to take part with Conan, or Eudo, againſt him; and therefore he ſet on foot a negociation, which he had reaſon to believe would hinder that monarch from obſtructing his deſigns. This was a propoſal for a treaty of marriage between Prince Henry, who was now his eldeſt ſon (William, his firſt-born, having died about two years before) and Margaret, the daughter of Louis le Jeune by his ſecond wife, Conſtantia, princeſs of Caſtile. Both were very young children: but it

Diceto Imag. Hiſt. et Gerv. Chron. ſub ann. 1158. Chron. Norm. p. 994. Neubrig. l. ii. c. 7.

was the mode of the times to cement alliances and connect families by contracts between royal infants. The offer was joyfully accepted by Louis, who thought it both advantageous and honorable to him; and Conſtantia, his queen, moſt paſſionately deſired it, having no greater object of ambition (as ſhe had no ſon) than to procure for her daughter the inheritance of the kingdom of England, and other territories poſſeſſed by the houſe of Plantagenet. Henry knew this, and meant to avail himſelf of theſe diſpoſition for more than one purpoſe. Beſides the advantage of not being moleſted in his pretenſions to Nantes, he hoped, by means of this alliance, to recover Giſors, and the reſt of the Norman Vexin, which had been ceded by his father to Louis le Gros. This territory was a frontier of great importance, containing, beſides the ſtrong fortreſs abovementioned, the caſtles of Neufle and Neufchâtel, with ſome others of leſſer note; which chain of forts, if reunited to the dutchy of Normandy, would form a good barrier for the defence of that country; but remaining in the hands of the king of France would expoſe it to continual danger. Henry propoſed that theſe places ſhould be given by that prince as a portion to his daughter; and, conſidering the greatneſs of the match he offered, the demand was not exorbitant. Overtures being made of this affair to Louis by Henry's chancellor, Becket, the two kings had an interview on the borders

Hiſt. Ludov. vii. Reg. apud. Ducheſne, tom. iv p. 415, 416.

V. auctores citat ut ſupra.

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ders of Normandy, in which they agreed on the match, and mutually pledged their faith thereupon to each other: but ſome circumſtances requiring a further diſcuſſion, Louis returned to Paris, and Becket was ſent to negociate with him there.

In the mean time Henry, ſecure of having no oppoſition from the French court, which he had entirely gained by the lure of this marriage, ordered all the military tenants of his dutchy of Normandy to attend him in arms at Avranches, on the feaſt of St. Michael, declaring his reſolution to make war againſt Conan in the dutchy of Bretagne, if that prince ſhould refuſe to yield to him the poſſeſſion of the city of Nantes with its earldom. While the forces were aſſembling, Becket's negociation was ſkilfully conducted and happily finiſhed. He had been inſtructed to require, that the young princeſs ſhould be immediately ſent into Normandy, and educated there, under the care of her father-in-law, till ſhe ſhould be of an age to accompliſh the marriage. How uneaſy ſoever this ſeparation might be to the fondneſs of her parents, their conſent to it was gained by the addreſs of the miniſter; and thus Henry obtained the cuſtody of her perſon, which was the moſt effectual ſecurity for the performance of the contract, againſt any change in the variable mind of her father. It alſo gave Henry an air of ſuperiority, which he was deſirous to aſſume in this treaty. Becket found greater dif-

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difficulty in another part of his buſineſs. His maſter required, that Giſors, with the other caſtles and territories that were to be given as a portion to Margaret, ſhould be immediately delivered into his hands. But this was refuſed; and undoubtedly with good reaſon; becauſe a portion is not given upon a contract of marriage, but upon its concluſion. To get over this objection Becket propoſed, that Giſors and the caſtles of Neufle and Neufchâtel ſhould be inſtantly committed to the cuſtody of three knights templars, named by both kings, who ſhould deliver them to Henry, on the day that his ſon ſhould wed the princeſs. This was agreed to, and Henry gained by it a conſiderable advantage, from the neutrality of thoſe places, which commanded his whole frontier, in caſe of a war breaking out between him and Louis. The complaiſance of the latter may not only be aſcribed to his eagerneſs for the match, but alſo to the dexterity of Henry's embaſſador, who excelled in the arts of perſuaſion and inſinuation, to which, upon this occaſion, he added a liberality, that was ſtill more prevailing. If we may believe a contemporary writer of his life, he loaded with preſents every French nobleman, baron, knight, and ſervant of the king or queen: nay, he extended his munificence to the doctors in the univerſity of Paris, to the ſtudents, and to all the principal citizens. The court therefore, and all perſons who could have any influence over the

Diceto imag. hiſt. p. 532. Heribertus in vit. Becket. Neubrig. l. ii. c. 34. Brompton's Chron. p. 1050.

V. Fitz Stephen in vita S.T. Cantuar.

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the king or his miniſters, were diſpoſed to aſſiſt him in every thing he deſired. The above-cited author adds, that before he departed from Paris, he gave away all his gold and ſilver plate, and almoſt all his ward-robe, in which were contained no leſs than four and twenty changes of garments. The magnificence he diſplayed in this embaſſy was prodigious! He had in his own family two hundred knights, with all their attendants, amounting, upon the whole number, to above a thouſand perſons, whom he lodged, fed, and cloathed in new and pompous apparel. Some accounts that are given of the luxury and expence of his table are incredible; but it is certain that he lived with moſt extraordinrry ſplendour, and made entertainments to which the French themſelves, the moſt elegant nation on this ſide of the Alps, had not been accuſtomed. The whole kingdom of France was filled with the renown of his immenſe generoſity, which redounded much to the honor and ſervice of his maſter.

Chron. Norm. P. 994.

Having ſo ſucceſsfully concluded his negociation, he would have returned into Normandy; but Louis, to expreſs the ſatisfaction he felt in the union of the two families by means of this match, invited Henry to come to Paris, and receive the princeſs himſelf. The propoſal was agreeable. Henry went thither, and was entertained with all the honors, that the utmoſt civility of thoſe times could deviſe.

deviſe. He received them with an amiable and graceful politeneſs; but, as much as he could, avoided all pompous forms and ceremonies; his mind being too great, and his underſtanding too ſolid, to be fond of ſuch pageantry, or not to be weary of it, even where it was neceſſary to attract the admiration and reſpect of the vulgar. Book II.

It is an obſervation of Philip de Commines that interviews between kings ſeldom produce good effects, but generally rather tend to leſſen their friendſhip than to encreaſe it: and the reaſons he gives for it are very judicious: yet here it proved otherwiſe, from the ſkill and prudence of Henry, who found the ſecret of pleaſing the nobility and people of France, without raiſing any jealouſy or envy in the king. Nor did the pleaſures of Paris engage him ſo entirely, as to divert his attention from weightier matters. He not only took advantage of the good humour of Louis, to gain his approbation of the litigable title to Nantes and its earldom, which he was proſecuting againſt Conan, but, with the aſſiſtance of Becket, whoſe influence over that monarch was become very great, obtained from him a commiſſion to go into Bretagne, and, by virtue of the office of Seneſchal of France, which belonged to the earls of Anjou, judge and determine the diſpute between Conan and Eudo earl of Pontieure, upon the right to that dukedom. Gerv. Chron. ſub ann. 1158.

Argentre hiſt. de Bretagne, l. iv. c. 51. 52.

The latter of theſe competitors had, ſome time before, recovered his liberty, by corrupting the Baron de Fougeres, into whoſe hands he had yielded himſelf a priſoner, and who had kept him in his own cuſtody, without delivering him to Conan: but the beſt part of the dutchy having ſubmitted to that prince he retired to Paris, and ſoon afterwards ſerved the king of France againſt the earl of Maſcon, a rebellious vaſſal. Fortune was more favorable there to his valor: he defeated the earl, took him, priſoner, and delivered him to the king. On the merit of this ſervice he flattered himſelf that Louis would ſupport his pretenſions to Bretagne, and was preparing to begin a war againſt Conan, at the time when this commiſſion was granted to Henry. Conan was now in the utmoſt perplexity. Violent ſtorms were apparently gathering againſt him on every ſide. Henry had already ſeized on his earldom of Richmond, and by denying the claim of that prince to Nantes, he might provoke him to decree in favor of Eudo. Finding therefore no ſafety but in obtaining his friendſhip, he went to him at Avranches, on the feaſt of St. Michael, the day appointed for the rendezvous of his forces, and made him a ceſſion of Nantes with its whole county; ſoon after which Henry gave ſentence in his favor, and fixed him in the dukedom. It ſhould ſeem that the diſpute was cognizable by Henry, as duke

Chron. Norm. et Argentre, ut ſupra.

duke of Normandy, becauſe Bretagne was acknowledged to be a fief of that dutchy; but it would have been eaſy for Eudo to find a pretence of appealing from his court to that of the king of France, as ſupreme lord of both countries, if the commiſſion given to Henry, as Seneſchal of the kingdom, to determine this affair in the name of the king, had not prevented all means of eluding the judgment, and made it definitive. Indeed it was wrong, while the claim of the Engliſh monarch to a province of Bretagne was depending, that he ſhould be impowered to exerciſe ſuch a juriſdiction; and, though his ſentence might be juſt, yet, appearing to be purchaſed by the ceſſion of that earldom, it had an air of injuſtice.

Preſently after the interview between him and Conan, he went to Nantes, and took poſſeſſion of it with a great army, which may have been neceſſary to guard him againſt the earl of Pontieure. Having ſettled every thing there he marched into Poictou, where the lord of the caſtle of Thouras, on ſome quarrel not explained in the hiſtory of thoſe times, had thrown off his allegiance, and, probably, would have been joined by other noblemen of that province, if the king had been long detained, as they might preſume he would be, by the diſputes in Bretagne: but he came unexpectedly before the caſtle, and took it by aſſault the next day; which rapid ſucceſs

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put an end to the rebellion begun in thoſe parts, before it could riſe to any dangerous heighth. From thence he returned very haſtily into Normandy, being recalled by his deſire to attend the king of France, whom the accompliſhment of ſome vow, or other act of devotion, brought at this time to the abbey of Mont St. Michel, a Norman town near Avranches, on the borders of Bretagne. It was of the utmoſt importance to Henry, in his intereſts on the continent, to endeavour to preſerve the affection of that monarch, from which he already had drawn great advantages, and hoped to draw ſtill greater. He therefore went to receive him on the frontiers of Normandy, nobly entertained him, with all his retinue, as long as he ſtaid in that dutchy, waited upon him in perſon whereſoever he went, and conducted him back at his return into his own territories. Louis had a temper exceedingly ſenſible to compliments of this nature: they made him look upon Henry, not as a rival king, of whom he ought to be jealous, but as an obſequious, affectionate vaſſal. And, while he gave himſelf up to the illuſion of theſe pleaſing ideas, that able prince purſued, without any interruption, a judicious and well-connected ſyſtem of meaſures for the continual advancement of his own greatneſs in the kingdom of France. Preſently after this time he brought the earl of Blois to yield to him the ſtrong caſtles of Fret-

Chron. Norm. ut ſupra. Gerv. Chron. ſubann. 1158.

Chron. Norm. p. 994.

teval

teval and Amboiſe, which had been uſurped from Anjou, and the earl of Perche to reſtore two fortreſſes, which had belonged to his demeſne in Normandy, but were unjuſtly taken from it, admidſt the confuſion that followed the death of his grandfather, King Henry the Firſt. In return he conſented that the town of Beleſme ſhould be held of him, under homage, by the laſt of theſe earls. He now had recovered, not at once, as he did in England, but gradually, as occaſions conveniently offered, whatever had been alienated, during the late civil war, from the demeſne of the dukes of Normandy: a great acceſſion of wealth and ſtrength, by which he was in reality no leſs a gainer than if he had conquered a province! Nor could he have done it without ſome oppoſition, if the friendſhip he had ſo happily cultivated with Louis had not rendered the nobility, whoſe grants or uſurpations were thus reſumed, afraid of reſiſting him, from a deſpair of ſupport. And, conſidering how much the quiet of that dutchy had been diſturbed, in paſt times, by the intrigues of the barons with the French court, the preventing of ſo great a miſchief would have alone been a reaſon, why Henry ſhould labour, while theſe affairs were tranſacting, to ſecure to himſelf the moſt favorable diſpoſitions, on the part of the king of France; by the moſt ſoothing complaiſance to his humour. He did ſo in one inſtance

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Chron. Norm. 1153. 1157.

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which is very remarkable, though it has not been taken notice of by any hiſtorian.

Vid. Adriani IV, Papæ ep. 76. apud Duchesne, t. iv.

It appears from a letter written to that king by Pope Adrian the Fourth, that he had acquainted his Holineſs with a pious intention of going into Spain, to make war on the Moors, which he was preparing to execute, inſtead of undertaking another cruſade againſt the Saracens, or Turks, in the Eaſt. The ſame evidence likewiſe ſhews, that he had propoſed the affair to Adrian, not only in his own name, but in that of the king of England, who was to accompany him in this expedition. But the pontiff very wiſely adviſed him againſt it, becauſe the Chriſtian princes of that country had neither aſked his aſſiſtance nor approved of his coming. The letter is dated the twelfth of the calends of March, but the year is not mentioned. Several reaſons induce me to believe that it muſt have been written in the year eleven hundred and fifty nine, and that the deſign mentioned in it had been formed and agreed upon, between the two kings, about the latter end of the preceding autumn. For Joſeph king of Morocco, the ſon of Abdulmumen of the race of the Almohades, having made himſelf maſter of all the Mahometan empire in Africk, except what was ſubject to the Caliph of Egypt, had paſſed over into Spain, with a very great army in the year eleven hundred

V. l'Afrique de Marmol. t. i. l. ii. c. 35. Mariana, ſub ann. 1157, 1158.

hundred and fifty ſeven, to aid the Moors in that country, who had ſubmitted themſelves to his government, againſt the arms of Alphonſo, king of Caſtile and of Leon, whoſe daughter Conſtantia was at this time queen of France. Alphonſo dying ſoon afterwards, his dominions were divided between his two ſons. The eldeſt, to whom he bequeathed the kingdom of Caſtile, ſurvived him only one year, and left an infant to ſucceed to his crown. It was then, I imagine, that Louis, being alarmed, and apparently with good reaſon, on account of the nonage of his nephew, thought that the circumſtances of the Chriſtians in Spain called upon him to aſſiſt them againſt the Moors. And he, probably, aſked the aid of Henry in this war, when that prince was his gueſt at Paris, or rather when he went himſelf into Normandy; becauſe, at that time, the diſturbances in Bretagne and Poitou being quieted, and England in a ſtate of perfect tranquility, Henry had leiſure to engage in ſuch an enterprize. It was very difficult for the latter, upon any occaſion, to reſiſt the impetuous deſires of Louis: but ſtill leſs could he do it in an affair of this nature, where all the enthuſiaſm of that monarch's zeal being kindled, he would not liſten to reaſon, nor endure a denial without the utmoſt reſentment. Yet, as neither the regency of the kingdom of Caſtile, nor the other princes of Spain, had made any application

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plication to either king for ſuccour, it ſeemed imprudent and abſurd to force it upon them. The reaſon why they had not was doubtleſs a jealouſy of letting into their country great armies of foreigners, which might in the iſſue be as dangerous to them as the Moors. Nor were they really ſo incapable of defending themſelves as Louis imagined: for the forces raiſed by Sancho, the ſon of Alphonſo, had vanquiſhed the Moors in a great battle ſoon after his death; and the king of Morocco, diſcouraged by that defeat, had ceaſed to attack them, and turned his arms againſt ſome princes of his own religion in Spain, who refuſed to pay him obedience. On the other hand, the late cruſade had ſo much exhauſted France, that it could ill ſuſtain a further waſte of it's blood and treaſures. Indeed a confederacy againſt the Moors in Spain was far from being ſo irrational as againſt the Mahometan princes in the Eaſt; becauſe all the weſtern Chriſtians, but chiefly the French, and particularly the inhabitants of the dutchy of Acquitaine, had a much greater intereſt to drive thoſe infidels out of that country, than out of Syria or Judæa: but, in their preſent weak condition, it was more adviſeable to poſtpone ſuch an enterprize, and leave the Moors to deſtroy themſelves by inteſtine diviſions. Henry was ſenſible of this, and had other deſigns in view; but he alſo knew that any arguments would have more weight with Louis,

Louis, if they came from the pope, than if objected by him. The ſeaſon of the year, which was then approaching to winter, would not permit even the zeal of that monarch to think of paſſing the Pyrenian mountains. It would be neceſſary to defer the expedition till the ſpring; and, if the fervour of Louis did not abate in that interval, the cruſade could not be publiſhed without the authority of the pope, from whom the protections, indulgencies, and all the other graces annexed to thoſe enterprizes, were to proceed. Henry therefore promiſed Louis to be his confederate: but at the ſame time, he relied on the prudence of Adrian to prevent the execution of ſo raſh a deſign. There is great reaſon to believe he acquainted that pontiff with his own thoughts upon it, and ſeretly adviſed him to exhort the king of France againſt the undertaking: for otherwiſe Adrian would have written to him, as well as to Louis, on that ſubject, and would have uſed the ſame arguments to convince him of the unfitneſs of what he propoſed; but no ſuch letter is extant. The French monarch, who conſidered the counſels of Rome as the oracles of God, let drop his intention, as ſoon as a diſapprobation of it was expreſſed by the pope: and thus Henry, without any difficulty, or diſpute with that prince, was freed from his engagement. In the mean time, he had diligently made great levies of men, in Normandy,

Normandy, Aquitaine, and all the dominions belonging to him in France; which Louis ſuppoſed were intended for the purpoſe of the cruſade, as he himſelf had begun to make the like preparations. But it ſoon appeared that theſe forces had another deſtination.

Chron. Norm. p. 995, 996. Neubrigenſis, l. ii. c. 10.

Henry now avowed his reſolution to revive the pretenſions of his queen on the earldom of Toulouſe; pretenſions, which Louis himſelf, when huſband to Eleanor, had thought well founded. For William the Eighth, duke of Aquitaine, who was grandfather to that princeſs, had married the daughter and heireſs of the earl of Toulouſe, and by that marriage the earldom was annexed to his dutchy, of which, before, it had been held under homage, as a fief: but being in great want of money, on account of his engagement in the cruſade, he mortgaged it to his wife's uncle, Raymond earl of St. Giles, who thereupon aſſumed the title of earl of Toulouſe, and, the mortgage remaining unredeemed, left the earldom to his ſon Alphonſo. But Louis, having married the heireſs of Aquitaine, claimed it, in right of his wife, againſt that prince. The diſpute however was quieted by the intervention of the Holy war, in which both Louis and Alphonſo engaged. The latter died at Jeruſalem, and the king, upon his return, renewed his claim againſt the ſon of Alphonſo,

Alphonſo, Raymond the Fifth, who, probably, would have been forced to yield the earldom to him, if, by marrying his ſiſter Conſtantia, the widow of Euſtace, eldeſt ſon to King Stephen, he had not amicably compounded the quarrel between them. But all the rights of the dutchy of Aquitaine being afterwards conveyed from Louis to Henry. by the marriage of the latter with the repudiated dutcheſs, he could not be barred from purſuing his pretenſions to this earldom, whenever he might think it expedient to do ſo, by the acquieſcence of the former claimant for reaſons of his own. Yet he did not rely ſo much on the juſtice of his cauſe, as not to put all the force, he poſſibly could, on his ſide. He therefore confederated himſelf with the earls of Mompellier, of Nimes, and of Blois, who, upon former quarrels, were perſonal enemies to the earl of Touloufe. Raymond earl of Barcelona was diſpoſed to join in this league, by motives of the ſame nature: but as he was a much greater potentate than any of the others, being poſſeſſed of Provence, and having the government of the kingdom of Arragon in right of his wife, Henry, to fix him more firmly in his intereſt, both now and hereafter, concluded with him a treaty, by which he betrothed Prince Richard, his ſecond ſon, and then an infant, to the young princeſs of Arragon, daughter to Raymond, and promiſed to give them the dutchy of Aquitaine when

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when they ſhould be of age to conſummate the marriage. As ſoon as he had finiſhed theſe negociations in France, he returned into England a little before Eaſter in the year eleven hundred and fifty nine, thinking it neceſſary to viſit that kingdom, before he began ſo great a war, in which he wanted the aſſiſtance of his Engliſh ſubjects. Being called by ſome affairs to the borders of Wales ſoon after his arrival, he held a great council, or parliament, in the city of Worceſter, where he kept his Eaſter feſtival together with Eleanor, and where they both wore their crowns, as their royal predeceſſors had uſually done on ſuch occaſions. But when they came to the oblation, they laid them down, on the altar, and vowed to wear them no more. What was the occaſion of this vow we are not told: but their following actions demonſtrate, that it is much eaſier to give up the enſigns of royalty, than the love of dominions.

Hoveden, ſub ann. 1159. pars poſterior.

The barons of England engaged chearfully in ſupport of the king's pretenſions to the earldom of Toulouſe; though they might well have refuſed it; as it, certainly, was not a war wherein this kingdom was obliged to take any part, either by alliance or intereſt. Aquitaine alone was concerned in the quarrel: but all Henry's ſubjects were then ſo well affected to his perſon and ſervice, that they thought his greatneſs their own.

Indeed, till much later times, whoever attends to the hiſtory of England will conſtantly find, that when a king governed well, and knew how to keep himſelf on good terms with his barons, they were but too ready to aſſiſt him in any foreign wars, even of ambition and conqueſt. The cauſe of this may be found in the temper and circumſtances of our ancient nobility, who, being illiterate, and ignorant of thoſe elegancies of life which embelliſh and enliven a peaceful ſtate, and finding that military merit, both by the notions of the times and inſtitutions of the government, would moſt advance their reputation and fortunes, were always inclined to draw their ſwords in the quarrels of their ſovereign, if they did not draw them againſt him. But beſides this general inclination, it has often been obſerved, during the courſe of this work, how much our nobles were influenced in their political conduct by the fiefs that many of them held in thoſe parts of France which were ſubject to our kings. This influence muſt have encreaſed in the reign of Henry the Second, whoſe power abroad was ſo much greater than that of his anceſtors. It is no wonder therefore that he was able to engage the barons of England, and all his military tenants, to aſſiſt him in this war. Nor does it ſeem that the policy of thoſe times ever regarded his dominions upon the French continent as prejudicial to England. Thoſe which were maratime

maratime provinces (and moſt of them were ſo) appeared very commodious to the Engliſh, on account of their trade; eſpecially Normandy and Bretagne; which, lying oppoſite to their coaſts, ſecured to that nation the ſovereignty of the whole Britiſh ocean. And this advantage aroſe from all his French territories, that while ſo large a portion of that kingdom was under his government, France had much more to fear from England than England from France. For all theſe reaſons his Engliſh ſubjects were more inclined to urge him on to an attempt of this nature, than to oppoſe or reſtrain him. All his nobility followed him to this expedition with incredible ardor: and (what was more extraordinary) Malcolm, the young king of Scotland, attended on him in perſon; the firſt time, and the laſt, that any monarch of that nation ever fought under an Engliſh banner againſt the French! About the middle of ſummer, in the year eleven hundred and fifty nine, the confederate troops were aſſembled from all parts in Guienne, and compoſed ſuch an army, as ſeemed more than ſufficient to ſubdue all the territories of the earl of Toulouſe, if the king of France remained neutral. Thoſe territories indeed were much more extenſive than the diſtrict which at preſent belongs to that city: for they comprehended the Quercy and almoſt all Languedoc. Yet though the power of this earldom was very conſiderable,

V. P. Daniel hiſt de France, t. iii. p. 12.

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it was not equal to the force which Henry had drawn from his own dominions in France; much leſs when that force was encreaſed by the aſſiſtance of ſuch potent confederates, and by a formidable army brought over from England. The only valid defence, which could be oppoſed by the earl to an enemy ſo ſuperior, was the aid of Louis, his ſovereign. But Henry had been ſo dextrous, as to prevail on that monarch, to promiſe him that he would take no part in this quarrel: and, from the aſcendant he had gained in all his counſels, he believed he might rely, with the utmoſt ſecurity, on the performance of an engagement ſo agreeable to the tenour of his paſt conduct. But the pathetick remonſtrances of the earl of Toulouſe rouſed the good king from his lethargy. He repreſented to him, with all the eloquence of grief and indignation, that his beſt friends were ſacrificed to his connections with Henry, who, under the name of a vaſſal and the maſk of a friend, was his moſt dangerous enemy; who already was poſſeſt of the better half of his realm; and whom he never could ſatisfy by any conceſſions; ſince ambition, like avarice, increaſes by its gains. That none of his vaſſals would any longer hope protection from him, if he gave up his own brother-in-law to the violence of that prince: and that very hard would be the fate of his ſiſter Conſtantia, if, after having ſeen the dutchy of

V. Fitz-Stephen in vita S.T.Cantuar.

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Normandy torn from her firſt huſband, and given by her brother himſelf to Henry, who had likewiſe deprived the family, into which ſhe had married, of the kingdom of England, ſhe ſhould alſo behold her ſecond huſband deſpoiled of his territories, by the ſame encroaching hand; and this too with the conſent of a brother whom ſhe loved, and whoſe affection ſhe had never deſerved to loſe, by any fault on her part.

The good nature of Louis could not be inſenſible to theſe complaints; nor could he deny that the ſtrongeſt reaſons of prudence and policy called upon him to reſtrain the ambition of Henry from more acquiſitions in France. The motions of his mind were always ſudden and violent; and, when once he was heated, he conſidered no difficulties, and knew no fear. Following therefore the impulſe communicated to him by Raymond, he not only reſolved to aſſiſt him againſt Henry, but, before that monarch had begun the ſiege of Toulouſe, threw himſelf into the city, with only a few ſoldiers, reſolving to defend it to the utmoſt extremity, and regardleſs of the danger, to which, by his temerity, he expoſed his own perſon, and, together with that, the whole kingdom. Henry, who had too confidently depended on his promiſe to obſerve a neutrality, was much ſurpriſed and embarraſſed upon receiving this news. Being doubtful how to act,

V. Neubrig. l. ii. c. 10. p. 388.

act, he desired to hear the opinions of his council. Becket advised him to march, without a moment's delay, and assault Toulouse, which, the garrison being weak and insufficient to defend it, might be easily taken, and with it a more important and more glorious prize, the person of Louis himself, who had so imprudently thrown himself into it without an army. But others of the council objecting, that it would be too enormous, and too criminal a violation of the feudal allegiance, for a vassal to take and hold in captivity the person of his Lord, the chancellor answered, *That the king of France had then laid down the person of Henry's liege lord, when, against the engagements and conventions between them, he had opposed himself to him as an enemy*; and therefore he treated the scruple as vain and groundless. This opinion was agreeable to the spirit and fire of his character; and if the measure he advised had proved successful, it would have added greatly to the glory and renown of his master. The pride of the English nation would have been infinitely pleased with seeing a king of France taken prisoner by their sovereign, and brought into England. No equal triumph had yet graced the annals of that kingdom; and no people in the whole universe are naturally more sensible to any encrease of their national honor than the English. These were strong reasons for agreeing to the advice of Becket; but others,

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V. Fitz-Stephen in vita S.T.Cantuar. Johann. in Quadrilo.c.9.

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of no ſmall weight, were urged againſt it. Conſidering the number of the fiefs held under Henry, it was highly for his intereſt, that the feudal principle of an awful reverence, on the part of the vaſſal, for the perſon of his Lord, ſhould by no means be weakened. His own ſecurity depended ſo much upon it, that it was very impolitick for him to ſet an example of diſtinguiſhing it away by particular caſuiſtry, and ſubtilties of argument, which, on other occaſions, might be turned againſt him by his vaſſals. But further, it was very doubtful, whether the other princes and peers of France would ſee the affair in the ſame lights as Becket ſaw it, or allow his reaſoning to be valid. If they did not; if they conſidered the offence done by Henry againſt the perſon of his Lord as an act of high treaſon, which could not be juſtified by the circumſtances of the caſe, he had much to fear from their reſentment. Louis, though not highly eſteemed, was beloved by his vaſſals. Many of them, who would not intermeddle in the quarrel between the duke of Aquitaine and the earl of Toulouſe, might take up arms to free their king, and the ſupreme lord of their fiefs, from an ignominious captivity. Indeed a general league of all the princes and peers of France for the deliverance of Louis, and for reſtraining the too formidable power of Henry, was to be then apprehended. The latter, in ſuch a caſe, could not depend even on thoſe who

were now his confederates: and thus the war might end, at laſt, with great detriment to him, by ſeparating from him thoſe friends and allies whom he had laboured to gain, and perhaps by the confiſcation of all the territories he held of the crown of France. But there was ſtill a further reaſon, which, added to the foregoing, might poſſibly turn the ſcale in this deliberation. Louis had no iſſue male: his daughters by Eleanor were virtually illegitimated by her divorce: his preſent queen had not bred for three years paſt: if he ſhould happen to die without a ſon, the princeſs Margaret, eſpouſed to the young prince of England, would be heireſs to his kingdom in the courſe of deſcent. Whether the Salick law, or the ancient cuſtoms of the French nation, would bar that right of ſucceſſion, and give a preference to the uncle before the daughter, was a queſtion not yet decided, and more likely to receive its determination from the arms of thoſe who were intereſted in the diſpute, than from the opinions of lawyers. When ſo great a portion of France, as the dutchy of Aquitaine, was allowed to deſcend to a woman, and to be governed by her huſband, that precedent might be naturally extended to the whole; eſpecially, as the huſband of Margaret, being heir to ſo many territories within that realm, might well be regarded as a Frenchman. The great power and intereſt, which Henry had there, with the whole force of England to

V. P Daniel Hiſtoire de France, ſub ann. 1158.

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assist him in the contest, might very probably get the better of all opposition from her uncles, and enable that prince to make his son and daughter-in-law king and queen of France. There was something in this idea very flattering to a mind so ambitious as his; but to give it any solidity, it was necessary to avoid, with all possible care, whatever might alarm or offend the French, and above all things to be cautious, that no opportunity should be given to Robert earl of Dreux, the king's brother, to put himself at the head of any considerable party, and get the government of the kingdom into his hands. Now, if Louis should be taken prisoner, that earl would probably be made regent, and in that situation it would not be difficult for him, finding his countrymen exasperated and incensed against Henry, to bring the nation to settle the succession on him, in case of the death of Louis without a son. This consideration, therefore, together with those beforementioned, determined Henry to reject the counsel of Becket, specious and tempting as it was. For, though we are told by some writers, it was a saying of his, *That the whole world is no more than sufficient for one great man*, the schemes he pursued to promote his greatness were always guided by the sober dictates of policy and prudence. Not even the advice of a favorite, whose opinion had the highest authority with him, could induce him to sacrifice a right plan of conduct

V. G. Camb. et Brompton's Chron. p. 1044.

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to the triumph of a day; but, notwithſtanding the great vivacity and warmth of his temper, he had patience to wait for that glory, which is the certain but ſlow reſult of a ſeries of wiſe, ſyſtematical meaſures. Inſtead therefore of haſtening to lay ſiege to Toulouſe, while Louis remained in that city, he declared his reſolution, that, *out of reſpect to the perſon of that king, he would not beſiege it*. But againſt all the tertitories of Earl Raymond, except his capital only, he held himſelf at liberty to make war, and made it with all his uſual alacrity: ſo that in leſs than three months he conquered the greater part of the earldom of Toulouſe, and took Cahors, the capital of the Quercy, with many other caſtles and ſtrong places. Nor did Louis oppoſe him in any of theſe enterprizes, contenting himſelf with ſecuring the city of Toulouſe, firſt by his own preſence there, and afterwards by a numerous body of forces, which he brought into it and left there, beſides repairing and augmenting the fortifications. But his brothers, the earl of Dreux and the biſhop of Beauvais, had, by his orders, made ſome ravages on the frontiers of Normandy. At the ſame time Henry ſent home the earl of Blois, to attack the royal domain in the parts about Orleans; which obliging the king to provide for the defence of that country, he could not act very powerfully againſt the dutchy of Normandy, or in aid of earl Raymond. No exploit of great importance was done on that

V. Neubrig. l. ii. c. 10. Dicet. imag. Hiſt. ſub ann. 1159. Chr. Brompt. p. 1051. Chron. Norm. p. 995, 996, 997.

V. Fitz Stephen in vita S.T. Cantuar. et Johan. in Quadrilogo, c. 9. V. Neubrig. et auctores citat. ut ſupra.

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side by either party, through the whole course of the summer, or during the months of August and September: but about the beginning of October, Henry, having repaired the fortifications of Cahors to cover and secure his conquests in Languedoc, committed it to the custody of his chancellor, Becket, and leaving his allies, the earls of Barcelona, Montpellier and Nismes, to continue the war in the earldom of Toulouse, returned with the main body of his own troops into Normandy; from whence, after he had given some repose to his soldiers, he made an incursion into the Beauvoisis, took Gerberoi, a strong fortress, and burnt it to the ground, excepting one tower, which the flame and smoke of the buildings, that had been fired round about it hindered his men from approaching. He also destroyed many villages and farms of that country, in revenge of the cruel devastations, which the bishop of Beauvais had made on the borders of Normandy.

V. Fitz-Stephen in vita S.T. Cantuar. et Johann. in Quadrilogo, c. 9, 10. V. Neubrig. l. ii. c. 10. Diceto imag. Hist. sub ann. 1159. Chr. Brompt. p. 1051. Chron. Norm. p. 995, 996, 997.

Thus were his arms in all places victorious; but, while he was carrying on these warlike operations, he gained no less by intrigues. For, in consequence of a secret treaty, concluded with Simon de Montfort, earl of Evereux, he prevailed upon that lord to receive Norman garrisons into three of his towns, Montford l'Amauri, Epernon, and Rochefort; by which he entirely cut off the communication of Paris with Estampes and with Orleans.

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Orleans. This was an advantage of great conſequence! Louis, who felt himſelf extremely diſtreſſed by it, and perhaps was touched with the extraordinary mark of reſpect, which Henry had ſhewn him, inclined to peace; an inclination, the latter was ever diſpoſed to comply with, for the reaſons abovementioned, and more eſpecially at this time, when the ſeaſon of the year made it neceſſary for him to draw his forces, which had been greatly fatigued, into winter quarters. A truce was therefore concluded, which was to laſt from Chriſtmas till eight days after Whitſunday; and in the mean while negociations for peace were carried on with ſucceſs. Becket was, undoubtedly, the chief negociator on the part of King Henry, whoſe favor he had gained more abſolutely than ever, by great ſervices in this war, not only as a counſellor, but as a ſoldier and a leader. For he brought into the field ſeven hundred knights, all of his own houſhold. And it muſt be obſerved, that every one of theſe was attended by a ſquire. The writers of Becket's life affirm, that a great number of barons and knights of England did homage to him, which he received with a reſerve of their fealty to the king, and thereupon gave them his protection and patronage. They alſo tell us, that many noblemen, not only of England, but of the neighbouring countries, ſent their children to be educated, and trained to chivalry, in

V. Fitz-Stephen in vita S.T. Cantuar. et Johann. in Quadrilogo, c. 9, 10.

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his family, and under his diſcipline. It is no wonder, therefore, that he was able to lead ſo numerous a band to this expedition; and we are aſſured, they were eſteemed the braveſt ſoldiers in all the king's army, charging firſt, and daring moſt in every engagement. Nor was the chancellor himſelf leſs forward than they. When the king went into Normandy, he was left in the Quercy, to defend Cahors and the other conqueſts made in that province; but he did more: he took by ſtorm, at the head of his troops, three caſtles in thoſe parts, which were accounted impregnable, and for that reaſon had been left unattempted by Henry. He alſo paſſed the Garonne, and made inroads into the earldom of Toulouſe on the other ſide of the river. After performing theſe ſervices, he left his houſhold forces to garriſon the forts he had taken, as well as thoſe which the king had committed to his cuſtody, and rejoined that prince in Normandy: but he did not go thither unattended: for he hired at his own charges twelve hundred knights, and four thouſand ſtipendiaries of an inferior degree, to ſerve under him there forty days. The knights not only received from him a very liberal pay, but were conſtantly fed at his expence, and many of them at his table. During this part of his warfare, he engaged, in ſingle combat, Engelran de Trie, a French knight, very famous for his valour, diſmounted him with

V. Auctores citatos ut ſupra.

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with his lance, and gained his horſe, which he led off in great triumph. It was not very decent for an *archdeacon of Canterbury* to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſuch exploits. The canons of the church were ſtrong againſt it; but thoſe canons were diſregarded by many of the biſhops: and Becket had ſo paſſionate a deſire of glory, that he ſought it in all ways, and among all ſorts of perſons. Beſides, he knew that the king's temper would incline that prince to eſteem and love him the more for this military merit; a ſympathy of Character being the ſtrongeſt bond of affection. And, had he been only of uſe to his maſter in the cabinet, another might, in the field, have acquired ſuch an influence, as he could not afterwards have removed.

From the concluſion of the truce in December eleven hundred and fifty nine, till May the next year, nothing of conſequence was done, either by Louis or Henry: but in that month they concluded a treaty of peace, the terms of which were advantageous and honorable to Henry: for he retained all his conqueſts, except ſome towns and caſtles in Languedoc, which he reſtored to his ally the earl of Niſmes, from whom they had been unjuſtly and violently taken by the earl of Toulouſe. All that had belonged to the earldom of Poitou, and all it's *rights* were confirmed to him, except the city of Toulouſe, and ſo much of that province as he had

Chron. Norm. p. 997. Neubrig. l. ii. c. 10.

See the treaty in the appendix.

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had not yet ſubdued: nor did he relinquiſh his claim even to theſe, but only granted to the earl a truce of one year; and it is expreſſed in the treaty, that this conceſſion was made out of affection to Louis, and with a ſaving of Henry's *honor* (by which I underſtand the homage due from the earl) and of his own rights and thoſe of his heirs and ſucceſſors. Thus did he gain the greater part of the territories which before the war had been enjoyed by the earl of Toulouſe; and he had good reaſon to hope, that time would enable him to acquire the remainder. The earl of Evreux was ſecured, by an article of the treaty, againſt any effects of the reſentment of Louis on account of the aſſiſtance he had given to Henry; and certain rights, which he claimed, were ſtipulated for him. Some of the other confederates, and even thoſe who were vaſſals to Henry, were left at full liberty to continue the war againſt the earl of Toulouſe; only it was agreed, that they ſhould receive no aſſiſtance from the former, till the expiration of the truce which he had made with the earl. There was moreover another part of this treaty very beneficial to that king. For he was empowered by it to take poſſeſſion of the whole Norman Vexin, with Giſors and the other caſtles belonging thereunto in *three years* from the next feaſt of the Virgin Mary's Aſſumption, *for the uſe and benefit of his ſon, as a marriage portion given to him with the daughter*

Chron. Norm. p. 996.

See the treaty in the Appendix.

daughter of Louis. And even *within that time*, if the prince of England ſhould *eſpouſe* the ſaid princeſs, *with the conſent of the church*, the ſaid province and caſtles were to be delivered to Henry for the uſe of his ſon. Three great fiefs of the Norman Vexin were alſo ſecured to that monarch by this treaty, even if the princeſs ſhould die before the term there aſſigned; in which caſe it was agreed that the reſt of the province ſhould be reſtored to her father. The caſtles, in the mean while, were to remain in the cuſtody of the knights templars, according to the tenour of the former convention, which had been concluded by Becket, when the match was agreed upon, in the year eleven hundred and fifty eight. Theſe ſtipulations opened to Henry a much nearer proſpect of obtaining the Vexin, than he had by that convention, beſides the ceſſion made to him of the three fiefs abovementioned, in all events. For it might well have been doubted, whether the ceremony of an eſpouſal, before the parties were of an age to conſummate the marriage, would be ſufficient to authorize the delivery of that province into his hands, according to the intention of the former agreement. And, if he had been to wait for it till the prince and princeſs were marriageable, the delay would have been much longer than the term of three years preſcribed by this treaty. Whereas he had now a clear right even to ſhorten that term.

Upon

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Upon the whole there was no cauſe for his being much diſcontented with the iſſue of the war, though he had not gained all that he propoſed to himſelf when firſt he undertook it. The charge indeed had been great, but there is reaſon to believe, that it did not diminiſh his treaſures, having been ſupplied by the *ſcutage* which he levied in England and his other dominions. It is obſervable, that the firſt mention we meet with in hiſtory of this impoſition on knights-fees, which became afterwards very frequent, is upon this occaſion. Henry the Second appears to have been the inventor of it: at leaſt he was the firſt who brought it into England. It was a commutation for the duty of perſonal ſervice *in foreign wars*; and thoſe upon whom it was charged contributed then to the expence of ſuch wars, in much the ſame manner as landholders do now, but with leſs inequality. The inferior military tenants were eaſed, by being freed from the obligation of following their lords a great way from their homes, according to the original condition of their tenures; and the ſervice was better done, by the ſoldiers hired with the money which this impoſition produced; becauſe they were not entitled, like thoſe for whom they ſerved, to a diſcharge at the end of forty days, nor were they ſo intractable to martial diſcipline, as moſt of the others. Mercenary forces were thus introduced into the armies of England, deſigned

ſigned to ſerve *abroad*, inſtead of vaſſals by knight-ſervice, though ſtill connected with, and dependant on the military tenures; and there ſeems to have been an abſolute neceſſity for it, to anſwer the exigence of the many foreign wars which the Engliſh were engaged in after the entrance of the Normans, and eſpecially under the family of the Plantagenets; the feudal militia being fitter for the defence of the kingdom, than for expeditions into countries very remote from their dwellings.

The ſcutage levied in England for the war of Toulouſe was a hundred and fourſcore thouſand pounds; which, computing the quantity of ſilver contained in thoſe pounds, and the value thereof in thoſe days, compared with the preſent, is equal to two millions ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Yet, conſidering the diſtance of Toulouſe from England, the liberty of paying this ſum, inſtead of going thither, was a very great eaſe to the military tenants.

See note on the value of money.

It was, I preſume, with the advice and conſent of the parliament, which Henry held at Worceſter before he ſet out on this enterprize, that he made this alteration in the terms of knight-ſervice, which was continued for many centuries after his reign. He never neglected to conſult with that aſſembly on proper occaſions, and this was moſt

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moſt proper; nor can we reaſonably ſuppoſe that he would ſtrain his prerogative, to introduce ſuch a novelty without their concurrence, when he might be certain to obtain it with a general ſatisfaction. It may be therefore preſumed that a parliamentary ſanction was given, in the abovementioned council, to this new method of commuting for the duty of foreign ſervice, and to the payment of ſuch a commutation for this particular war: but it ſeems that the aſſeſſment was then left to the king: whereas we find it declared, by the charter of King John, that ſcutages ought to be aſſeſt by the tenants in chief of the crown aſſembled in parliament. The reaſon of this alteration, was, I ſuppoſe, the oppreſions, which, under the government of that prince and of Richard the Firſt, their tenants had ſuffered by arbitrary aſſeſſments. But thoſe made by this king are referred to in the charters of Henry the Third, as the beſt rule to be followed.

Hoveden, pars ii. ſub ann. 1159. Chron. Norm. p. 996.

During the courſe of the war with the earl of Toulouſe, as Henry returned out of Languedoc into Normandy, William de Blois, who, with the other barons of his realm, had ſerved him in that enterprize, fell ſick and died. The only one of the late king's legitimate offspring, that now remained alive, was his daughter Mary, a nun, and abbeſs of Rumſey in Hampſhire. It ſeemed to be the intereſt of Henry to let her

continue

continue in this ſtate, that the lawful poſterity of Stephen might be wholly extinct; which would more abſolutely ſecure the houſe of Plantagenet againſt the poſſibility of any diſpute, in times to come, concerning their right to the crown: but views of preſent advantage inclined him to overlook this conſideration. Of all the potentates on the continent, except the king of France, there was none who could benefit or hurt him ſo much, as his uncle, the earl of Flanders. He had diſcharged with great fidelity the truſt repoſed in him, as guardian of Flanders, and of Philip, the earl's eldeſt ſon, during the time that the earl remained in the eaſt. This was unqueſtionably a moſt endearing obligation conferred on thoſe princes: yet he wiſhed to oblige them ſtill more, by extending his favors to Philip's younger brother, who wanted an eſtabliſhment greater than the appanage his father could give him. Nothing appeared ſo proper for him as the earldom of Boulogne, which lying contiguous to his father's dominions, and being very conſiderable in it's commerce and maritime power, would add not a little to the ſtrength of the family, as well as advance his own fortune. This province indeed was a fief of the earldom of Flanders; but the earl could not give it in any other manner than according to the eſtabliſhed rule of ſucceſſion: and his ſon had no title to it, unleſs he gained one by a marriage with the daughter

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daughter of Stephen. The lady herſelf was deſirous of quitting the veil, either having taken it againſt her will, or finding by experience that vows of celibacy are kept with more difficulty than they are made. The eccleſiaſtical laws oppoſed her inclinations: but princes might, on ſome occaſions, diſpenſe with thoſe laws; and the death of her brother without iſſue had ſo eſſentially altered her circumſtances, from what they had been at the time when ſhe engaged in a monaſtic life, that ſhe might now, with good reaſon, and no appearance of levity, retract that engagement. The papal power could releaſe her, and to that ſhe would certainly have applied for relief: but Pope Adrian having died a little before the deceaſe of her brother, in the year eleven hundred and fifty nine, a double election had cauſed a ſchiſm, which was yet undecided. It was by no means adviſeable to wait till the end of it; for ſome prince of the houſe of Blois would before that time have made good his claim to the earldom. This Henry feared, and moreover he was glad of ſuch an opportunity to ſerve the two families of Flanders and of Blois. He therefore conſented that the lady ſhould be ſtolen from her convent, and conveyed out of England; which was accordingly done, and the marriage was conſummated in the month of May of the year eleven hundred and ſixty. Becket oppoſed it, on account of the ſcandal and offence to religion;

Diceto, ſub. ann. 1159.

Idem, ſub ann. 1160. Chron. Norm. p. 997. Heribertus in Quadril. et vita Thomæ Becket.

religion; in which inſtance, and in that alone, he appears to have acted upon the ſame principles, while he was chancellor, as he afterwards did, when archbiſhop of Canterbury. But this oppoſition was fruitleſs: for, though he was firſt in Henry's favor, the mind of that king was too great and royal, to let his judgment be ſubjected to the authority of a ſervant. Nor did he ſee any reaſon for his being more ſcrupulous in ſuch an affair than his uncle the earl of Flanders, who certainly did not oppoſe, but, in all probability, deſired and ſolicited this match for his ſon, though he was renowned for his piety above any prince of that age.

In conſequence of the deceaſe of William of Blois, Henry had alſo the means of making an ample proviſion for Hamelin, his natural brother, by marrying him to the widow of that prince, who was daughter to William of Warren. She brought to her ſecond huſband the earldom of Surry, with all the other honors and poſſeſſions of her father in England and Normandy: poſſeſſions ſo great, that, without alarming the jealouſy of the crown, they could not have been added to the wealth of any other noble family; eſpecially, as the lady to whom they had deſcended, was very near allied in blood to the kings of France and of Scotland. It was therefore, not only from affection to his brother, but from the maxims of good policy

Chron. Norm. p. 999, ſub ann. 1163.

and reaſon of ſtate, that Henry intereſted himſelf in this match.

He had but juſt accommodated his quarrel with Louis about Toulouſe, when the attention of both of them was called to a buſineſs, which divided the whole Latin church, the double election of the cardinals Octavian and Orlando to the Roman pontificate. A great majority of the ſacred college had voted for Orlando, who took the name of Alexander the Third; but yet his election was liable to many objections. Octavian, who called himſelf Victor the Fourth, had the protection of the emperor Frederick the Firſt, ſurnamed Barbaroſſa. For what reaſons he had it we are told in a letter from the biſhop of Bamburgh to the archbiſhop of Saltzburg, "It appeared (ſays the former prelate) that, before the election, Orlando himſelf, and the cardinals of his party, had conſpired with the king of Sicily and other enemies of the empire; having even bound themſelves with an oath, which ſeemed very repugnant to the ſound Chriſtian doctrine, inaſmuch as it abſolved the ſubjects of the emperor from their oaths of fidelity, and forbad all perſons to pay him any obedience." We find, by another letter, written about the ſame time, that they took this oath in the preſence of Adrian the Fourth, a little before his deceaſe, and alſo ſwore, that, whenever the ſee ſhould become vacant,

V. Radevic. de reb. geſtis Frederic. I. Imperat. l. ii. p. 318. ad 323, et 328. ad 335. Act. Alexand. apud Baron.

V. Radev. ut ſupra, l. ii. c. 71. Idem ibidem. c. 52.

vacant, they would not elect any pope, except one of their party, and who ſhould be under the ſame engagements. Well, therefore, might Frederick incline to diſpute the election of Orlando, and favor his adverſary; eſpecially as the latter had been always of the imperial faction. Many emperors of Germany, his predeceſſors, had not only exerciſed a right of confirming, but even of electing, or nominating, the biſhops of Rome. In the year of our Lord nine hundred and ſixty three, Otho the Firſt obliged the Roman people and Pope Leo the Eighth to yield to him that privilege, which was conſtantly maintained by his ſon and his grandſon, though not without occaſioning many tumults and ſeditions. After the death of the latter, the imperial authority diminiſhed in Rome, and the people reſumed the election of the popes, together with the clergy, till, moſt intolerable diſorders and ſcandals ariſing from the ill uſe they were found to make of their power, the emperor Henry the Third, ſurnamed the Black, took it from them again, and nominated ſucceſſively four popes, who were Germans. But, during the minority of his ſon, Henry the Fourth, Nicholas the Second, encroaching on the prerogative of that prince, made a new conſtitution, whereby the cardinal biſhops were firſt to conſult about the election of a pope, then to call in the cardinal prieſts, and, thirdly, the inferior clergy and the

V. Luitprand. c. 2.

Platina in vit. Benedict. IX. et Gregor. VI. Otho Friſing. l. vi. ad ann. p. 140. Onuphrius in chronico. Diſt. 23. C. in Nom. Father Paul, of beneficiary matters, c. 23.

people of Rome, for their conſent, *ſaving the honor and reverence due to the emperor*. Theſe laſt words preſerved indeed to the emperor the right of confirmation; though not ſo explicitly as he might have deſired: but Alexander the Second having been choſen according to this conſtitution, Henry, in order to ſignify his reſentment thereof, refuſed to confirm that election, and named to the papacy the biſhop of Parma, upon the recommendation of Gerard his chancellor. Nevertheleſs on the death of that miniſter, about three years afterwards, he conſented to depoſe the biſhop of Parma and acknowledge Pope Alexander, who made him a moſt ungrateful return for that favor. But Gregory the Seventh, ſucceeding to the papacy after the deceaſe of that pontiff, not only attempted to take from the emperors all ſhare whatſoever in the elections of popes, but in thoſe of all other clergymen; judging that he ſhould better be able to ſupport the claim of his ſee, by making it the general cauſe of the church. This conteſt continued during more than half a century, under ſix pontiffs, who maintained it, not only with their ſpiritual weapons, but by exciting the moſt horrid rebellions and treaſons, and arming the ſon againſt the father, as well as the ſubject againſt the ſovereign. Nor were the emperors eaſily vanquiſhed in a quarrel of ſuch importance. Near fourſcore battles were fought, in defence of their authority,

See Father Paul of beneficiary matters, c. 23, 24.

authority, by Henry the Fourth and Henry the Fifth, before the agreement of the latter with Pope Calixtus the Second, in the year eleven hundred and twenty two: and even that was made with ſuch temperaments, as preſerved to him ſome of his ancient prerogatives in all elections of biſhops, except thoſe of the popes; but from them he and his ſucceſſors were after this time entirely excluded. And in conſequence of a quarrel between Innocent the Second and the people of Rome, that pontiff deprived theſe alſo of the right of election.

A. Abb. Uſpergenſ. in Chron. ſub ann. 1122. Father Paul, c. 24. Onuphr. Annot. ad vit. Innocent.

The emperor Frederick Barbaroſſa, one of the greateſt and braveſt that ever had aſcended the imperial throne, was now ſtruggling to aſſert ſo much of the power his predeceſſors had loſt, as, in the extraordinary caſe of a double election, to give the preference to that cardinal who was of his party, againſt one who was openly leagued with his enemies. He did not pretend any right to determine this cauſe by his own ſingle authority, knowing that the times would not bear it; but called a general council at Pavia, to which he invited the biſhops, not only of Germany and of Italy, but of all Europe, and cited to it both popes, with the cardinals of each party. Victor obeyed, but Alexander refuſed; denying that the emperor had power to call a council without his conſent, or to ſummon him to appear in his preſence,

Redev. ut ſup. c. 54, 55, 56, 71. Act. Alexand. apud Baron.

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preſence, as if he had any authority over him. "Chriſt (he ſaid) had given to St. "Peter and his ſucceſſors the privilege of "judging all caſes wherein the church was "concerned; which right the ſee of Rome "had always preſerved, and had never ſub-"mitted to any other judgment." This was not only begging the queſtion in diſpute, that he was the rightful ſucceſſor of St. Peter, but arrogating to his ſee ſuch prerogatives, as all hiſtory contradicted no leſs than the goſpel, and ſuch as had never been acknowledged by any emperor. Beſides, it was evident, that, if theſe pretenſions were admitted, it would be impoſſible to end a ſchiſm between two popes; ſince each might equally plead this privilege of exemption from all other judgment, and would be ſure to paſs ſentence in favor of himſelf. But as Victor came, and ſubmitted his cauſe to the council, it gave a reaſonable prejudice in his behalf, his adverſary was cenſured as guilty of contumacy; and, after a proper examination of witneſſes, he was declared to have been duly elected. Frederick took care to prevent any objection againſt this deciſion, on account of it's being made by the ſecular power; for he confined the examination and judgment of the cauſe to the eccleſiaſticks alone. There were preſent in the council about fifty biſhops, beſides a great number of abbots and other dignified clergymen; but all Italians, or ſubjects of the empire. The kings

of

of Bohemia and Denmark, with almoſt all the princes of the empire, attended in perſon, and ſubſcribed to the determination in favor of Victor. The king of Hungary declared his aſſent to it by his embaſſadors. The kings of France and of England had alſo miniſters in the council: but the former of theſe refuſed to engage himſelf any further, than not to acknowledge either Alexander, or Victor, as pope, till he ſhould receive a fuller information of the merits of the cauſe by embaſſadors from the emperor; and the latter declared, that in this, and all other affairs, his conduct ſhould be conformable to that of the king of France. Louis, before the council was aſſembled, had paid him the ſame compliment with regard to this queſtion: and indeed it was for their mutual intereſt not to diſagree on ſuch a point: as their difference would have produced a ſchiſm in France, which muſt have been very troubleſome and hurtful to both. The French monarch was ſtrongly urged to determine for Alexander, by all the power that his queen, who was zealous for that pontiff, had over his mind, and by the perſuaſions of much the major part of his clergy, whoſe inclinations he was always diſpoſed rather to follow than lead. A jealouſy of encreaſing the greatneſs of the emperor, by giving him a pope devoted to his intereſts, might have alſo ſome ſhare in prejudicing the judgment of this prince and his ſubjects

V. Radevic. c. 54, 55, 56. 71. Act. Alexand. apud Baron.

Alexan. epiſt. 17, apud Duchesne, t. ix.

Book II.

againſt any evidence on the ſide of Victor. But the young earl of Champagne, who had much credit with him, and was related to Victor, kept him, ſome time, in ſuſpence. Henry had received very early impreſſions in favor of Alexander, from the biſhop of Liſieux, a man of excellent parts, and one whoſe counſels he chiefly liſtened to in eccleſiaſtical matters. Nevertheleſs the regard he owed to the emperor, his friend and ally, made him deſirous to proceed with great reſerve, and a decent ſhew of deliberation, in this affair. Nor would he act therein without the entire concurrence of Louis, whoſe irreſolution continued ſeveral months. During this interval the archbiſhop of Canterbury preſſed him moſt vehemently to acknowledge Pope Alexander, by ſeveral letters, which, being ſick at that time, he wrote by the hand of John of Saliſbury, his ſecretary, who afterwards became very buſy and factious in all the eccleſiaſtical affairs of this reign. But no ſollicitations, or importunities, even from his beſt friends, could drive the king to precipitate his meaſures, in a matter of this delicate nature. He prudently reſtrained the zeal of that prelate till he had conferred with the chancellor of the empire, who immediately after the diſſolution of the council of Pavia, in the month of February of this year eleven hundred and ſixty, had been ſent to him and the king of France, to acquaint them with the reaſons

V. Arnulph. epiſt. ad Alex.

V. Joan. Sariſb. epiſt. 44. 48, 63.

Book II.

reaſons upon which that council had acted in acknowledging Victor, and endeavour to obtain their concurrence. The embaſſador came, and was patiently heard by both kings, but prevailed upon neither. As ſoon as Henry had concluded the peace with Louis, he ſounded his inclinations with regard to this queſtion, and helped to fix them in behalf of Alexander. I ſhall hereafter give ſome reaſons why he ought rather to have aſſiſted the earl of Champagne in ſerving Victor. But being drawn in by the torrent, which run very ſtrong the other way, both in England and his French dominions, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to induce the king of France to make the ſame choice; of which he had ſoon afterwards great cauſe to repent.

Chron. Norm. 997.

V. Petri Bleſenſis epiſt. ad Celeſt. III. Papam, 144.

It was privately agreed between the two kings, that as a foundation for them to proceed upon, in deciding this diſpute, each ſhould ſeparately take the ſenſe of the clergy within his own territories; and a council was accordingly held by Louis at Beauvais; Henry at the ſame time holding one at his town of Neufmarché in Normandy, by both which aſſemblies Alexander's election was ſuppoſed to be good. The ſentiments of the Gallican church having been thus declared for that pontiff, Henry empowered the archbiſhop of Canterbury to call a council in England, and ſend him their opinion

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on the merits of the queſtion. Theobald obeyed very joyfully; and, though we are told, that ſome of the Engliſh clergy, particularly the biſhops of Durham and Wincheſter, inclined to Victor, yet they thought it adviſeable to concur with their brethren in favoring Alexander, the king's diſpoſition to give him the preference being well underſtood. The words of the primate, in his letter to Henry on this occaſion, are remarkable. He ſays that "the council had "not *paſſed any judgment* upon the matter "propoſed to them, nor had they *decreed* "any thing about it in prejudice to the ma- "jeſty of the crown; *as it would have been* "*contrary to their duty to do ſo:* but they had "lawfully and dutifully given that *advice* "which he had required of them by his "royal mandate." From hence it may be inferred, that, in the commiſſion which the king had ſent to this prelate, care had been taken to ſecure his royal prerogative againſt any encroachment on the part of the clergy, though he graciouſly condeſcended to aſk their advice: and, conſidering the pretenſions of the church in that age, an archbiſhop of Canterbury's acknowledging this right of the crown, in terms ſo explicit and ſo full of reſpect, was a great inſtance of moderation.

V. Joan. Sariſb. epiſt. 44. 59. Ejuſdem epiſt. 64, 65.

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Labbeus, t. x. concil. p. 1406. Neubrigenſ. l. ii. c. 9. P. Daniel hiſt. de France, p. 407. Ducheſne, epiſt. 431, t. iv.

V. Othon. Mordna in Chronico.

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another general council, aſſembled at Lodi in oppoſition to this of Toulouſe. And both theſe meetings concluded with thundering out ſentences of excommunication againſt the pope of the other faction and all his adherents. Nothing can exceed the rancour and bitterneſs, which appear in many of the letters written during thoſe times, by clergymen and monks of either party, againſt their opponents; and they were but too powerful to inſpire the ſame paſſions into the laity, whoſe conſciences they directed with an abſolute dominion. This ſchiſm was followed by a long war in Italy, between the emperor and the adherents of Alexander there, which I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more of hereafter.

While Louis and Henry were thus buſied in chuſing a pope, there had happened other events of great importance, which entirely altered the ſtate of their civil affairs. About the end of September in the year eleven hundred and ſixty, the queen of France died in child-bed of a ſecond daughter, who, ſurviving her mother, was named Adelais. The lords of the council, much deſiring a male heir to the crown, exhorted the king to marry again without delay. He made ſo much haſte to comply with their advice and his own inclinations, that diſregarding all decency, in leſs than a fortnight after the death of his wife, he married a ſiſter of the

earl of Champagne. That prince and his brothers, the earls of Blois and Sancerre, were, by means of this alliance, advanced to greater power in the kingdom of France; and as Henry was aſſured that they were very malevolent to him, though one of them had occaſionally confederated with him in the war of Toulouſe, it alarmed him to ſee them brought ſo near to the throne. Indeed the death of Conſtantia was in many reſpects unfortunate for him. He had always found her a warm and uſeful friend. The new queen might be an enemy; and, from his knowledge of Louis, he might naturally fear, that a change in the bed of that monarch would be followed by a change in his council. Theſe conſiderations affected him with no little uneaſineſs. The peace concluded in May had not been ratified till October, a few days before this marriage was celebrated. On that occaſion the prince of England did homage to the king of France for the dutchy of Normandy; which ſeems to imply that a ceſſion had been actually made, or at leaſt an intention declared by Henry at this time, and confirmed by this act, of reſigning to him thoſe territories when he ſhould be of full age. Probably, Louis, whoſe daughter he was to marry, might deſire this ceſſion; as the heir to the crown of England had not in thoſe days any principality, dukedom, or other royal appanage, aſſigned

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to him in that kingdom. And perhaps ſome diſpute upon this matter was the cauſe that the ratification of the peace had ſo long been delayed, though we do not find any mention thereof in the treaty. However this may have been, it looked unfavorable to the concord, reſtored at this meeting, that Henry departed from thence, without ſeeing the celebration of the king's nuptials; a ceremony, which he would undoubtedly have graced with his preſence, if his diſlike of the match had not got the better of his uſual complaiſance, and made him ſhew the court of France a little too plainly, that he could not forget the dead queen ſo ſoon as her huſband.

Upon his return into Normandy, he judged it adviſeable to take ſuch meaſures, as might ſecure him againſt the conſequences of that alteration in the diſpoſitions of Louis, which he prudently foreſaw from this alliance. To put his ſon's marriage with the eldeſt princeſs of France beyond all diſpute was his firſt care. A mere verbal contract might poſſibly be revoked, and the lady demanded back from Robert de Neubourg, juſticiary of Normandy, who had the cuſtody of her, if thoſe who governed her father ſhould make him wiſh to diſpoſe of her in a different manner. Henry thought it expedient to guard againſt this danger, and bind the engage-

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ment more indiſſolubly by the moſt ſolemn ſanction: as, beſides the hope of future benefits which might ariſe from this match, he was very deſirous, at this juncture, to get the Norman Vexin, with the important caſtle of Giſors, and thoſe of Neufle and Neuchâtel, into his own hands. By the treaty of peace, which he had concluded with Louis the year before, he was authorized to take poſſeſſion of theſe, if, before the term of three years aſſigned by that treaty for their being delivered up to him, his ſon ſhould *eſpouſe* the princeſs *with the conſent of the church*. He therefore applied to the cardinals of Piſa and Pavia, legates from Alexander, who now were with him in Normandy, and prevailed upon them to celebrate the form of a marriage, or publick and ſolemn eſpouſals, between Prince Henry his ſon, not yet ſix years old, and Margaret of France, who was ſtill a younger infant. This ceremony being performed, he demanded the caſtles; which were immediately ſurrendered to him, by the knights templars, into whoſe cuſtody they had been committed. Nor could they withhold them, againſt the expreſs conditions of the treaty between the two princes. At the time when Louis gave his conſent to that treaty, he was, in all probability, deſirous to accelerate the eſpouſals of his daughter with Henry's ſon, and thought the immaturity of their age no objection: but

See the treaty in the Appendix.

Diceto Imag. hiſtor. ſub ann. 1160. Chron. Norm. P. 997. Neubrig. l. ii. c. 24.

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but the death of her mother and his new marriage having changed his opinion, he was ſo unreaſonable as to complain of Henry's proceedings, in acting agreeably to their late convention.

V. Gul. Neubrig. l. ii. c. 24. Hoveden ann. pars poſt. f. 282.

If we may believe ſome ancient writers, he accuſed that monarch of fraud, and the knights templars of breach of truſt, and even drove the latter out of his kingdom, for having delivered the caſtles to Henry upon this *ſhadow of a marriage*. But it is evident that this anger had no foundation. For the words of the treaty, too clear to admit of any doubt, gave Henry a right to take poſſeſſion of the caſtles, and of the whole Norman Vexin, for the uſe of his ſon, at any time after the ſigning thereof, when the latter ſhould have *eſpouſed* the daughter of Louis *with the conſent of the church*. The legates of the pope had given that *conſent*: the knights templars were preſent themſelves at the ceremony: their truſt was to determine as ſoon as this was performed; and their honor was engaged to ſurrender to Henry what then belonged to him, as much as any other part of his territories in France. Nor can the reproach of a diſhonorable and fraudulent practice, in this tranſaction, be reaſonably laid on that king. Prudence required him to ſecure to his ſon a deſirable match and the advantages that attended it, in ſuch manner as he was impowered, and

See the treaty in the Appendix.

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even invited to do it, by Louis himſelf, not long before. But though the French monarch had not, in reality, any cauſe for reſentment on account of this act, the contemporary authors aſſign no other for his taking up arms againſt Henry the following year. He was, doubtleſs, incited to it, not by any good arguments, but by the influence which his bride, and the unanimous counſels of her brothers, had over his mind at this time. While, by their inſtigations, he was preparing for the war he intended to make at the return of the ſpring, thoſe three princes, having drawn their forces together, began to fortify Chaumont, a caſtle in the county of Blois, bordering upon Touraine; from whence they propoſed to infeſt the laſt mentioned province, as ſoon as the king, their maſter, ſhould take the field. But Henry, to whom the intention of their work was no ſecret, put himſelf inſtantly at the head of a body of troops, which he had kept up to be ready on any emergency, and marched to prevent them from executing their purpoſe. Before he came to Chaumont, the earls of Champagne and Sancerre had returned home with their forces, leaving their brother, the earl of Blois, to complete the fortifications: but he alſo, upon intelligence of Henry's approach, which he did not expect, thought it prudent to retire. That king, whoſe celerity in his military

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Chron. Norm. P. 997.

operations made him always ſucceſsful, found the works ſo unfiniſhed, and the garriſon of the caſtle ſo unable to defend it, that it was yielded to him without the trouble of a ſiege: and immediately given up to one of his vaſſals, named Hugh d'Amboiſe, who claimed it, as a fief that belonged to his family, and who bore a mortal hatred againſt the earl of Blois, becauſe that prince had occaſioned the death of his father by an unjuſt and ſevere impriſonment. Then, having added ſome new defences to the caſtles of Frettevalle and Amboiſe, Henry returned into Normandy, and put that whole dutchy into a ſtate of ſecurity, by repairing and encreaſing the fortifications of almoſt all his caſtles, but particularly of Giſors, and building a new fortreſs upon the banks of the Eure. He alſo garriſoned thoſe of ſome noblemen, whoſe fidelity he ſuſpected, with his own troops; as he had a right to do by the cuſtoms and laws of France.

But though his principal care was to provide for the ſafety of his territories on that continent, in caſe of a war, he did not neglect the works of peace. Even while he was erecting theſe fortifications, he built a royal palace in the neighbourhood of Rouen, and an hoſpital for lepers near Caen, which the Norman chronicle ſtyles *a wonderful building*, on account, I ſuppoſe of the beauty of its architecture, or its ſpacious extent. The

leproſy

leproſy raged, at this time, very violently, in moſt parts of Europe, being imported from Paleſtine by the pilgrimages made thither, or from Syria and Egypt by the cruſades; and ſuch edifices were neceſſary to receive the infected, who were cut off from ſociety with all other men. No charity therefore could better become a king than this, which gave all the comfort their condition would admit to the moſt unhappy of his ſubjects, and ſecured the reſt from the contagion of ſo loathſome a diſtemper. Henry was alſo a benefactor to ſome religious houſes, both in France and in England; for which he deſerves the honor due to pious intentions. Book II.

Soon after Eaſter, in the year eleven hundred and ſixty-one, Louis attempted to attack the Norman Vexin: but Henry had ſo ſtrengthened every part of that diſtrict, that his enemy found it impracticable to make any ſiege, and ſoon retired to the frontier of his own country. The king of England purſued him; and the two armies being often in ſight of each other, a battle was daily expected. But the reputation of Henry's arms made Louis unwilling to run that hazard; nor, when that monarch avoided, did Henry ſeek it, having more to loſe, if he ſhould be defeated, than to gain by a victory. He had done enough to prevent the imputation of fear being caſt on his prudence; and Norm. Chron. p. 997, 998.

Book II.

it was agreeable to every principle that governed his conduct, to make up a quarrel with the ſovereign of his foreign dominions, as ſoon as he could with honor. He therefore was not diſpleaſed that good offices of mediation were employed by ſome common friends to both parties; in conſequence of which, about midſummer, a truce was agreed upon between him and Louis. The firſt uſe that he made of it was to go and ſuppreſs a rebellion in Aquitaine, which had broken out during the war on the borders of Normandy, on a ſuppoſition that his arms would have been longer detained in thoſe parts of the kingdom. But that hope was now fruſtrated: in leſs than two months he vanquiſhed all the rebels, and recovered whatever he had loſt in thoſe provinces, either by treaſon, or force; particularly the fortreſs of Chaſtillon above Agen, upon the river Garonne, which, though nature and art had concurred to render it ſtrong, he took in five or ſix days, to the great aſtoniſhment and terror of the Gaſcons.

Chron. Norm. p. 998.

The ſcience of engineering muſt certainly have been poſſeſt by this prince, or by thoſe employed under him, in a high degree of perfection; as we find he hardly ever beſieged any place without reducing it ſooner than his enemies had expected.

All being ſubdued and quiet in Aquitaine, he performed nothing more of any import-

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ance this year, except preſiding together with Louis at the council of Toulouſe, an account of which has been given. Their meeting in that city may be regarded as a proof, that no great animoſity continued between them, or between the king of England and the earl of Toulouſe.

NOTES

TO THE

FIRST BOOK

OF THE

Hiſtory of the Life of King HENRY the Second.

PAGE 8. *Upon which ſhe immediately gave the alarm to her friends, and, with all poſſible ſilence and ſecreſy, drew them inſenſibly, by ſmall parties, out of the city, before the conſpirators there were ready to act; then, mounting on horſeback, ſhe retired, in a military manner, to Oxford; the nobles, who attended her, forming, with their followers, a ſtrong body of cavalry, and marching together, in good order, till they got to a conſiderable diſtance from London.* Book I.

Some authors ſay, that Matilda and her friends made their eſcape in the utmoſt diſorder, and, rather by a flight than retreat, having been informed of their danger but a moment before, when the bells of the city were ringing to call the people to arms, and the inſurrection was already begun. But I have preferred the account given by William of Malmſbury, who ſays, that *inſidiis prægnitis et vitatis, ſenſim, ſine tumultu quadam militari diſciplina* V. Hiſt. Nov. l. ii. f. 106.

Book I.

urbe ceſſerunt. For, had their notice of the plot been ſo ſhort, and their flight ſo diſorderly, as the others pretend, it is not conceivable how thoſe who were lodged in the city could all be permitted to go off unmoleſted, or how it could happen that no purſuit ſhould have been made by the citizens. William of Malmſbury affirms, that *all* of Matilda's party eſcaped unhurt; and no other author makes mention of any of them having been killed, or taken priſoners.

P. 61. *It happened well for him, that the action did not begin till after ſun-ſet; ſo that darkneſs coming on aſſiſted his flight.*

In my account of this action, I have, for the moſt part, followed the author of the acts of king Stephen. Gervaſe of Canterbury differs, in ſome reſpects, from that author; particularly in this, that he ſays the king fled without facing the enemy; whereas the other tells us, that he drew all his forces out of the town, and did not fly, till the beſt part of them were broken and routed, which better agrees with his character. I have reconciled their accounts as far as I could; but where they are irreconcileable, I have adhered to the acts of King Stephen, as the writer was neareſt in time.

P. 76. *This Sultan left the government to his ſon Gelaleddin, whoſe dominions extended from Urquend, a city of Turqueſtan beyond the river Oxus, to Antioch in Syria; which he won from the Greek empire by the good conduct of Solyman, a prince of his blood, on whom he beſtowed it, with part of the Leſſer Aſia,* &c.

Antioch had been conquered from the Greek empire by the Caliph Omar, in the ſixteenth year of the Hegira; and remained in the hands of the Saracens

Saracens till the year 357 of the ſame æra, when it was regained from them by the emperor Nicephorus Phocas. Solyman took it in the year of the Hegira 477. (See ANTHAKIA in Herbelot.)

P. 101. *Yet when he found, during his march over the lands of the empire, ſeveral proofs of hoſtile malice and treachery in the Greeks*, &c.

Monſieur Voltaire, in his late Hiſtory of the Cruſades, and another excellent writer of the ſame nation, have aſcribed the mortality in the army of Conrade, only to their intemperance, and the effects of a foreign climate. (V. Voltaire Hiſt. des Croiſades, ſub ann. 1147. p. 78. & Abregé Chronologique de l'Hiſtoire de France, tom. i. ſub ann. 1148.) But the unanimous teſtimony of all the contemporary Latin hiſtorians, ſupported by Nicetas, a Greek, who was Secretary to Emanuel Comnenus, in his Life of that emperor, leaves us, I think, no room to doubt, that they were perfidiouſly deſtroyed by the Greeks. The ſilence of the laſt author, as to any violences committed by the Germans, which might have provoked ſuch ill uſage, diſproves all all that Cinnamus, another Greek writer, has ſaid on that ſubject. In truth, the behaviour of Conrade and his army, was quite irreproachable, with regard to the Greeks; but the Greeks acted treacherouſly and baſely by them; nor can I make any queſtion of their having acted by the orders of Emanuel Comnenus. It appears by a letter from the king of France himſelf, that he likewiſe complained of *the fraud of that emperor*: "In quibus "ſanè partibus, tum *pro fraude imperatoris*, tum "pro culpâ noſtrorum, non pauca damna pertuli-"mus, et graviter quidem in multis periculis vex-"ati ſumus. Non defuerunt quippe nobis aſſiduæ "latronum inſidiæ, graves viarum difficultates,

"quo-

Book I. " quotidiana bella Turcorum, *qui permiſſione impe-*
" *ratoris* in terram ſuam militiam Chriſti perſequi
" venerant, &c." V. Epiſt. Suger. 39. apud Du-cheſne.

P. 123. *Yet the latter has left his readers as much in the dark, as all the other hiſtorians who lived in thoſe days, with regard to the perſon ſhe intrigued with.*

V. Wil. Tyri, l. xvi. c. 27. His words are theſe: " Spe fruſtratus, mutato
" ſtudio, regis vias abominari, et ei præſtruere
" patenter inſidias, et in ejus læſionem armari cœ-
" pit, Uxorem enim ejus in id ipſum conſentientem,
" quæ una erat de fatuis mulieribus, aut violenter,
" aut occultis machinationibus, ab eo rapere pro-
" poſuit. Erat, ut præmiſimus, *ſicut et prius et*
" *poſtmodum manifeſtis edocuit indiciis*, mulier impru-
" dens, et contra dignitatem regiam *legem negligens*
" *maritalem, thori conjugalis fidem oblita*: quod poſt-
" quam regi *compertum eſt*, principis præveniens
" molimina, vitæ quoque et ſaluti conſulens, de
" conſilium magnatum ſuorum iter accelerans, urbe
" Antiochena cum ſuis clam egreſſus eſt." By theſe words, one would imagine, that he meant to accuſe her of an amour with her uncle, as well as with others, before and after this time. But, in giving the character of the ſame prince of Antioch, he ſays, that he was ſcrupulouſly true to his wife,

Idem, l. xiv. c. 21. " conjugalis integritatis, poſtquam duxit uxorem,
" ſollicitus cuſtos et ſervator." And if that prince was not himſelf the gallant of Eleanor, it is moſt incredible that he ſhould blaſt his own reputation, and riſque his fortune and life, by taking her from her huſband, to favor the criminal paſſion of another. As for the imputation this writer has thrown, in the paſſage above-cited, both on her former and ſubſequent conduct, I do not find it ſupported by any

any other evidence in any of the accounts we have of thoſe times. Book I.

P. 124. *This opinion is well warranted by the words of an hiſtorian, who lived in that age.*

The words that I refer to are theſe: "*Princeps* "ſatis intelligens per reſponſionem *regis* petitiones "ſuas vacuas fieri magna contra *regem* ferbuit "iracundia, et ab illa hora non ceſſavit, in quantum "potuit, in malum regis et dedecus machinare; "in tantum quod Alienordis regina uxor ſua ſuis "malis exhortationibus regem voluit deſerere, et "ab illo, ad minus *ad tempus, quaſi quodam divortio* "*ſeparari.*" The Latin is very bad; but it is plain from the ſenſe, that *uxor ſua* means *uxor regis*, and *ſuis* malis exhortationibus, ſhould be *ejus* malis exhortationibus. V. Geſta Ludovici VII. regis filii Ludovici Groſſi apud Ducheſne.

The author of the Life of Abbot Suger, publiſhed in 1721, aſcribes the greateſt part of this book to that Abbot, ſuppoſing that he wrote it from the Memoires of Odo de Deuïl, and that after his deceaſe it was finiſhed by Odo. But he is certainly miſtaken in both theſe opinions. For the Memoirs and this Hiſtory differ in many particulars, of which I will mention one inſtance. The Memoirs ſay, that, after the defeat on the mountain of Laodicea, another action enſued, in which the French beat the Turks, and cut to pieces a large body of them between two rivers. (V. Odo de Diogn. l. vii,) But the Hiſtory ſays, they never met with the Turks, after the defeat abovementioned, till they came to Attalia. (V. Geſt. Ludov. c. 14.) The uſe of certain barbarous words in this book, which likewiſe occur in the writings of Suger, is not a proof that he wrote it: as the ſame words are uſed by many others, who wrote in that age.

Hiſtoire de Suger, tom. i. diſſer. 3me.

Book I.

age. But there are ſome in this book, particularly *parlamentum*, which ſeem to fix the date of it half a century later than Suger's death. (See Geſt. Ludov. c. 3. 18.) I therefore agree with the learned and judicious Dupin, in not regarding this book as the work of that Abbot.

P. 130. *For, to ſuppoſe, that true miracles were really done by him, in confirmation of his having received revelations from God, which the event proved to be falſe, is ſuch an abſurdity, and ſuch an impiety, as one would think, ſuperſtition itſelf ſhould reject.*

It is aſtoniſhing, that a proteſtant Divine, Dr. Fuller, in his Hiſtory of the Holy wars, ſhould ſay, that *God ſet his hand to St. Bernard's teſtimonial of the miracles which that father wrought!* (V. Fuller's Hiſtory of the Holy wars, l. ii. c. 30.) The Jeſuit Maimbourg had more judgment, and ſpeaks very doubtfully about all theſe miracles; or, rather, in a way that ſhews he thought they deſerved no credit. V. Maimbourg Hiſt. des Croiſades, l. iii. p. 429, 430.) But yet it is certain, that few of the modern miracles, believed by the Church of Rome, are better atteſted. There is ſtill extant a book, publiſhed by Sanſon, archbiſhop of Rheims, which contains a journal of them, with teſtimonies and proofs. (V. Fleuri Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. l. lxix. p. 1246.) They are mentioned by many contemporary authors, both German and French. (V. Odo de Diog. l. v. Geoffredi Vit. S. Bernardi, c. 4.) And, laſtly, Bernard himſelf appeals to them as proofs of the truth of his miſſion. In his apology to the Pope he writes thus: "If you aſk me, what mi-
"racles I have done, to prove the divine revelations
"which I had received, that is a point to which it
"does not become me to anſwer. Modeſty hinders
"me, and I ought to be excuſed from it on that

" account. It lies on you, holy father, it lies on " you to anſwer for me, *according to what you have* " *ſeen and heard.*" Book I.

Among the miracles ſaid to be done by him, this is one. A lame child was brought to him in preſence of the emperor: he made the ſign of the croſs, raiſed the child, and bid him walk, which he did very well. Then Bernard, turning to the emperor, ſaid, " This was done for your ſake, that you may " know, that God is certainly with you, and that " your enterprize is agreeable to him."

P. 137. *And though, in the deſperate ſtate of Stephen's affairs after the battle of Lincoln, he, with all the other noblemen who ſerved that prince, except William of Ipres, ſubmitted to Matilda, and not only was confirmed by her in his earldom, but received additional favors, as appears by two charters granted to him that year, yet he ſoon left her, and returned to the party of the king*, &c.

Theſe charters are cited by Dugdale in his Baronage, but he has miſplaced them: for that dated from Oxford, which he gives firſt, refers to the other, dated from Weſtminſter, in ſeveral places, by confirming grants made therein. That both were granted in the year 1141 appears very clearly. For Matilda was not at Weſtminſter after the death of her father till a few days before Midſummer in that year; and before the end of that ſummer ſhe was driven from thence by the conſpiracy of the Londoners. This certainly fixes the time, when the firſt of theſe charters was given, to have been in that interval. And ſhe promiſes in the other, that certain lords, who are called *her barons*, ſhould be pledges for the engagements contracted therein, and names among others Gilbert earl of Pembroke, who, from the time of the ſiege of Wincheſter till a year

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a year after the death of the earl of Eſſex, was in the ſervice of Stephen. This charter muſt therefore have been given at the time when ſhe went to reſide in Oxford caſtle after her flight from Weſtminſter, and before ſhe engaged in her unſucceſsful attempt upon the biſhop's caſtle at Wincheſter: for only during that interval could the earl of Pembroke be reckoned among *her barons*, as he, together with all the chief friends of King Stephen, had then ſubmitted to her; but preſently afterwards forſook her again, and came with the army raiſed by the queen to beſiege her in Wincheſter. Probably ſhe gave the earl of Eſſex this charter, which is more liberal than the other, in hopes of recovering the city of London by his aſſiſtance. Whether at this time he really meant to aſſiſt her is doubtful. Perhaps he only treated with her to amuſe and deceive her, till the biſhop of Wincheſter ſhould be ready to act in concert with him againſt her. Certain it is, that ſoon afterwards he broke theſe engagements: for the anonymous author of the Acts of King Stephen names all the earls who attended her general ſummons at Wincheſter, and he is not among them: and William of Malmſbury ſays, that almoſt all the earls in England attended the biſhop of Wincheſter's ſummons upon that occaſion; which is a very ſtrong preſumption that he came to that ſiege, with the forces from London, under William of Ipres: for, as he was a perſon of ſuch note in the party, mention would have been made of his abſence, if he had not been there. Nor can one ſuppoſe he would afterwards have been truſted by Stephen in ſo high a degree, if he had not ſerved him at that very critical juncture, when all his other friends returned to his ſervice. It is remarkable, that, in the laſt of the charters granted to him, in the year 1141, by Matilda, her huſband and ſon are joined with her

V. Geſt. Stephen. Reg. ap. Ducheſne Hiſt. Norm. p. 956.

V. Malmſb. Hiſt. Norm. l. ii. f. 107. 2. lin. 30.

as

as confirming the grants. But in the former no notice is taken of either of them; nor do I find the earl of Anjou once mentioned in any other publick act or monument of thoſe times relating to England. His being named as a party in the abovementioned charter would induce one to think, that Matilda had then a deſign to acknowledge him as king of England, in right of his marriage. But, if it was ſo, that intention was ſoon laid aſide.

P. 151. *Nevertheleſs he retained to himſelf the dominion of that dutchy, as he had held it in her abſence; that is, without any dependence upon her.*

Gervaſe ſays, ſhe went to live *ſub tutela mariti ſui.*

P. 160. *And though Celeſtine died ſoon afterwards, and he found diſpoſitions more favorable to him in Lucius the Second; yet he could not obtain from that pontiff a renewal of his brother's commiſſion.*

It is ſaid, by ſome authors, that the biſhop of Wincheſter received a pall from Pope Lucius the Second, who propoſed to raiſe his ſee into an archbiſhoprick, with ſeven ſuffragans under him. (V. Diceto Abbreviat. Chronic. ſub ann. 1143. Matth. Pariſ. Annales Winton. Anglia ſacra, pars I. p. 300.) But the ſilence of all the contemporary hiſtorians, and more particularly of Gervaſe of Canterbury, upon this matter, makes me much doubt the truth of it; eſpecially as J. Haguſtaldenſis affirms, that Lucius refuſed to make the biſhop his legate. The moſt ancient hiſtorian, by whom it is mentioned, is Radulphus de Diceto. Perhaps the biſhop might have ſuch a deſign in his thoughts, as his ambition was reſtleſs, and his temper very enterpriſing; but that in ſo ſhort a pontificate, as that of Lucius the Second, which did not laſt a year, ſo

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great a change ſhould be made in the Engliſh church, and made while a civil war was raging in the kingdom, is very improbable.

P. 160. *The other Engliſh biſhops obeyed the king, and the laws of their country; for which they were put, by the authority of the Pope, under ſpiritual cenſures.*

Gervaſe of Canterbury tells us, that four of the Engliſh biſhops were abſolved ſome time afterwards by the archbiſhop, from the ſentence they had incurred on this account: and, as we learn from the ſame author, that all had been ſummoned to the council by the pope, all, I preſume, were puniſhed for not going thither; but with ſome difference in the cenſures and in the time they remained under them, according as they had ſhewn more or leſs inclination to go; unleſs any of them could plead ſickneſs, or ſome neceſſary impediment.

Vid. Gervaſe Chron. col. 1365.

P. 172. *It does not appear that the archbiſhop of Canterbury obtained at this time the legatine dignity.*

The being made the Pope's legate was in reality, though not in the ſenſe of thoſe times, a diminution of the dignity of an archbiſhop of Canterbury; but it was a greater diminution of it to be ſubjected to the exerciſe of the legatine power in the hands of a ſuffragan biſhop: which will ſufficiently account for the deſire of Theobald to get it reſtored to his ſee. When his predeceſſor obtained it, he probably thought it an addition to his power; and ſo it was, if he found that the independency of his ſee could be no longer maintained againſt the pretended ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome.

Ibid.

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Ibid. *But I do not find Theobald ſtyled the Pope's legate till the year* 1151.

The author of the Antiquitates Eccleſiæ Britannicæ, and after him Mr. Selden, in his diſſertation on Fleta, and ſome later writers, have ſaid, that archbiſhop Theobald was honored with the title of *legatus natus*. But I find no mention of it in the contemporary hiſtorians. Gervaſe of Canterbury was too well informed of the affairs of that ſee, and too fond of all that he ſuppoſed did honor to it, eſpecially under the government of archbiſhop Theobald, to have omitted this in his Chronicle, and in the Life of that prelate, had it been true. Mr. Selden, who ſays, that this title was given him by Innocent the Second, muſt be miſtaken; as we certainly know, that the biſhop of Wincheſter was legate in England till the death of that pope. Some other writers have ſaid, that Theobald gained the legatine dignity from Celeſtine the Second; but this, I believe, is likewiſe an error. For, had that commiſſion been held by him when Celeſtine died, Lucius would hardly have ſent into this kingdom a cardinal legate, as we find that he did; or, at leaſt, on the recal of that legate, Theobald would have been ſtyled, by Gervaſe of Canterbury, and Henry of Huntington, *apoſtolicæ ſedis legatus*; but they do not give him that title till the year 1151.

P. 168. *But, before he did this, he required him to take an oath, never to reſume, from him, or his heirs, any part of the three counties, which he had obtained poſſeſſion of, during the troubles in England.*

In this I have followed William of Newbury. Roger de Hoveden, in giving an account of the oath exacted by David, expreſſes it thus: "Factus "eſt miles ab eodem rege David in civitate Car- "leoli, prius dato ſacramento, quod, ſi ipſe rex "Angliæ

V. Hoveden, ſub ann. 1148, lin. 50.

Book I. "Angliæ fieret, redderet ei Novum Caſtellum, et "totam Northumbriam, et premitteret illum, et "hæredes ſuos, in pace, ſine calumnia, in perpe- "tuum poſſidere totam terram, quæ eſt à fluvio "Tweede ad fluvium Tine." But David according to William of Newbury, was then in poſſeſſion of all the country belonging to England, as far as the river Tees. "Aquilonaris vero regio, quæ in "poteſtatem domini regis Scotorum uſque ad flu- "vium *Teſam* ceperat, per ejuſdem regis induſtriam "in pace degebat." Yet notwithſtanding this difference in marking the bounds, I preſume that they both meant the three Northern counties, which, William of Newbury afterwards informs us, were yielded back to Henry in the year 1157. "Regi "quoque Scotorum, qui Aquilonares Angliæ re- "giones, ſcilicet Northumbriam, Cumbriam, Weſt- "morilandiam, nomine Matildis dictæ Imperatri- "cis, & hæredis ejus, olim a David Scotorum "rege adquiſitas, tanquam jus proprium poſſidebat, "mandare curavit, regem Angliæ tantâ regni ſui "parte non debere fraudari, nec poſſe patienter "mutilari: juſtum eſſe reddi quod ſuo fuiſſet no- "mine adquiſitum. Ille vero prudenter conſiderans "regem Angliæ in hac parte cum potentia virium "merito cauſæ præſtare, quamvis poſſet obtendere "juramentum, quod avo ſuo David præſtitiſſe "*dicebatur*, cum ab eo cingulum acciperet militare, "prænominatos fines repetenti cum integritate "reſtituit, &c."

V. Neubrig. l. ii. c. 4.

V. Neubrig. l. i. c. 22.

And it muſt be obſerved, that this author ſpeaks of Henry's having taken this oath ſomewhat doubtfully, as having his knowledge of it only from *hear-ſay*, "accepta prius *(ut dicitur)* cautione;" and again, in the paſſage cited above, "juramentum "quod avo ſuo David præſtitiſſe *dicebatur*." But Roger de Hoveden, and all the Scotch writers, are

poſitive in the fact. To the Scotch I ſhould pay no great regard, as the moſt ancient of theſe writers is but of late times, and cannot be oppoſed to the authority of contemporary hiſtorians; but, I think, that the teſtimony of Roger de Hoveden cannot reaſonably be rejected, eſpecially as the matter is probable in itſelf. For though David had poſſeſſed himſelf of the abovementioned counties in the name of Matilda, and of her ſon, he certainly did not mean to give up the pretenſions his own ſon had to Northumberland, if not to Carliſle; and we find, he diſpoſed of all the three counties at his death, as having an abſolute property in them, *tanquam jus proprium*, (to uſe the expreſſion of William of Newbury) which he would hardly have done, without having made ſome agreement with Henry about them. I therefore believe, that he took this opportunity to obtain them from that prince, who wanted his aſſiſtance; and to obtain them, not as feudatory, but independent dominions.

P. 170. *I preſume that he was not to hold this acquiſition as a fief under David, who had no title to it, but under Henry Plantagenet as king of England.*

J. Haguſtaldenſis ſays, he did homage to David: but this muſt be a miſtake; for Lancaſter could not poſſibly be claimed by that king as a fief of his crown, having never belonged to it, either by treaty or grant from any king of England. It is not mentioned among the territories reſtored to Henry the Second; nor is there any notice taken of its having been then retained by the king of Scotland, or ceded to him by England. Henry, no doubt, would have claimed and recovered it, with the three Northern counties, if it had been in the poſſeſſion of that king.

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P. 198. *His father directed, by a clauſe in his will, that, if ever Henry ſhould be fully poſſeſſed of his mother's inheritance, that is, of England and Normandy, he then ſhould give up all his paternal dominions, namely the earldoms of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, to his ſecond brother.*

This fact is queſtioned by Mr. Carte, on the authority of an ancient hiſtorian, the monk of Moirmoutier, who relates, "That the earl of Anjou left "orders at his death, forbidding Henry his ſon to "introduce the cuſtoms of England or Normandy "into Anjou;" from whence Carte infers, that he intended to leave that prince ſole heir to all thoſe dominions. But the inference is not good: for, as he certainly left him Anjou till he ſhould gain poſſeſſion of England, he might think it proper to reſtrain him from any alteration of the laws of that province while it was under his dominion, and yet mean to give that and his two other earldoms to Geoffry, when the abovementioned contingency ſhould come to paſs. Certainly, neither this paſſage, nor the ſilence of other writers upon this point, can be enough to invalidate the poſitive teſtimony of William of Newbury, a contemporary hiſtorian, given with ſo many particulars, and ſupported by Brompton. Nor is it probable, that without ſome pretence of this kind, Geoffry ſhould have invaded his brother's dominions.

P. 199. *Suger was dead: and he had no other friend, either ſo honeſt or ſo wiſe, as to ſhew him all the folly of what he was doing.*

The author of the Life of Abbot Suger ſuppoſes, that after Louis returned into France, that miniſter approved of his divorcing the queen, on account of her conduct while they were in the Eaſt. But I can diſcover no foundation for this ſuppoſition, which

which ill agrees with the prudence of Suger. The words of the letter he wrote to Louis, which are brought to confirm it, prove no ſuch thing. "De "regina, conjuge veſtra, audemus vobis laudare "(ſi tamen placet) quatenus rancorem animi veſtri "[*ſi eſt*] operiatis, donec (Deo volente) ad pro- "prium reverſus regnum, et ſuper his et ſuper "aliis provideatis." Adviſing him not to diſcover the rancour of his mind *(if he had any)* towards his queen, till, being returned into his own kingdom, he *he might take proper meaſures on that and other affairs*, was by no means adviſing, *that he then ſhould divorce her.* The true intention of it ſeems to have been, *to gain time*, and ſtop the king from purſuing, with a raſh precipitation, what the firſt heat of his reſentment ſuggeſted.

P. 216. *And had the reſolution to publiſh an edict, which ſilenced the profeſſor, and forbad the books*, &c.

The words of John of Saliſbury, who was a contemporary writer, are theſe: "Tempore regis Ste- "phani a regno juſſæ ſunt *leges Romanæ*, quas in "Britanniam domus venerabilis patris Theobaldi, "Britanniarum primatis, aſciverat. Ne quis etiam "libros retineret edicto regio prohibitum eſt; et "Vacario noſtro inhibitum ſilentium." Mr. Selden, in his diſſertation on Fleta, underſtands the civil laws by *leges Romanæ*; and that the ſenſe of them extended to theſe, is certain; but that they principally meaned the canon laws, I think evident from the words of the ſame John of Saliſbury immediately following: "Sed, *Deo faciente*, eo "magis virtus legis invaluit quo eam amplius nite- "batur *impietas* infirmare." How could the oppoſing the imperial, or civil laws, unconnected with the canon laws, be called *a work of impiety?* Or, why

J. Saliſb. de nugis curialium.

Book I.

Janus Anglo-ram. Review of his book upon Tythes.

And Notes upon Forteſcue. Actus pontif. Cantuar. de Theobaldo.

why is the *aſſiſtance of God* brought in to the ſupport of theſe laws, if the Pope and the Church had not been concerned in them? Indeed Mr. Selden himſelf, in three other tracts, has given his opinion for underſtanding this paſſage as relative to the canon laws. And Joannes Balæus explains them in the ſame ſenſe. There is alſo a paſſage in Gervaſe of Canterbury, which may afford ſome light in this matter: Speaking of the diſputes between the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the biſhop of Winchester, about the legatine power, he goes on thus; "Oriuntur hinc inde diſcordiæ graves, lites, et appellationes antea inauditæ. *Tunc leges & canſidici in Angliam primo vocati ſunt*, quorum primus erat magiſter *Vacarius*. Hic in Oxenfordia *legem* docuit, et apud Romam magiſter *Gratianus* & *Alexander*, qui & Rodlandus, in proximo papa futurus, *canones compilavit*." By this it appears, that the occaſion of bringing over theſe laws and profeſſors from Italy, was the new and frequent diſputes that aroſe between biſhops, and in conſequence of them, appeals made to the Pope. The juriſprudence of Rome, that is, the canons received, and authorized there, being to decide theſe appeals, the ſtudy of them was thought to be neceſſary here; and both parties deſired to make their court to the pope, by the regard they paid to them; as nothing could more enlarge his authority, than the extending the uſe and influence of theſe laws. Yet it muſt be confeſſed, that Vacarius, who, as Gervaſe of Canterbury tells us, was the chief profeſſor of them in England, did alſo teach the civil law. He was profeſſor of both, *legum doctor*, and brought both together into this kingdom. For, at this time, they went hand in hand over Europe. The prohibition of Stephen included both; for there might well be a jealouſy in the government, that too

V. Differt. in Fletam, Arthur Duck de uſu & authoritate juris civilis. Chron. Norm. Robert de Monte, ann. 1148.

Book I.

too great a fondneſs, either for the civil or canon law, would be very prejudicial to the Engliſh conſtitution. It was afterwards found to be ſo; and therefore wiſely oppoſed by the parliament. The only difficulty is, why the canon law ſhould be ſaid to be *now brought into England*. For, in a National ſynod, held here Anno Domini 670, the Codex Canonum vetus eccleſiæ Romanæ was received by the clergy. It alſo appears, by a ſtatute of William the Firſt, that with the advice and conſent of his great council, he had reviewed and reformed the epiſcopal laws that were in uſe till his time in the realm of England. Some eſtabliſhment therefore the canon law had undoubtedly gained in this country before the reign of King Stephen, even by the ſanction of the whole legiſlature. But theſe more ancient canons were not ſo prejudicial to the rights of the ſtate, as theſe now introduced by Vacarius. The great compilation made by Ivo de Chatres, in the time of Henry the Firſt, was ſtrongly calculated to advance the dominion of Rome, and all the extravagant pretenſions of the clergy. It was probably this which was brought over and taught by Vacarius, with ſuch other papal decrees, or canons of councils, as later popes had ſuperadded to that body of laws. And theſe being formed on the principles of Gregory the Seventh, it was time for the civil power to reſiſt their eſtabliſhment. Beſides, the queſtion was now not only upon the *utility*, but the *authority* of thoſe laws. For the court of Rome pretended to impoſe them upon all Chriſtian ſtates, *proprio jure*, and by a tranſcendent power in itſelf, derived from God, to which the laws of all nations were to ſubmit. It was therefore moſt neceſſary now to aſſert the independency of the ſtate, by refuſing to admit them. Nor do I conceive that Stephen, by this prohibition, forbad the uſe of thoſe canons

V. Rot. Parl. 2 Rich. II. Bedæ Hiſt. eccleſ. l. iv. c. 5. Spelm. Conc. 293.

Selden's Notes on Eadmer, & Analect. Angl. Britan. L. Gul. I.

V. Selden's Review of his book of tythes.

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which were already ingrafted in our conſtitution. He only expelled the new books, which had lately been brought into England by Vacarius.

The exact time when he publiſhed this edict we cannot be certain of; the year not being mentioned in any ancient writers who tell us the fact. Some modern authors have ſuppoſed, that it was done about the year 1148; but that is a miſtake; for Vacarius did not begin to read lectures in Oxford till the year 1149. I have therefore ventured to place it in the year 1152, when Stephen had no longer any meaſures to keep, either with the pope, or the biſhops, having been ſo inſulted by both in the affair of his ſon's coronation. And as Gratian publiſhed his *Decretum* in the year 1151, that collection was probably ſent over to Vacarius, and read by him here, which from the nature of it, might well add to the alarm of the government, and determine it the more to this prohibition. Where we have only conjecture to guide us, probabilities muſt determine.

Matth. Paris, P. 352.

It is obſervable, that when the Decretals of Gregory the Ninth, which he had *commanded to be read, and divulged throughout the whole world*, were brought into England, in the ninteenth year of the reign of Henry the Third, the king forbad them to be taught in the London ſchools: "Mandatum "eſt majori & vicecomitibus London, (ſays the "cloſe roll of this year) quod clamari faciant, & "firmiter prohibere, ne aliquis ſcholas regens de "legibus in eadem civitate, de cætero ibidem "leges doceat; & ſi aliquis fuerit hujuſmodi ſcho-"las regens, ipſum ſine dilatione capere faciant. "Teſte rege apud Baſing. 11 Decem." Lord Coke indeed ſays, that this writ was iſſued out againſt the reading upon Magna Charta, and Charta de Foreſta; but Selden and other learned men have demonſtrated that he was miſtaken,

See Differt. on Fleta.

See Hiſt. of Convocat. p. 3, 4.

P. 222.

P. 222. *And landed very happily, it is not ſaid where, but, probably, at Wareham, on the ſixth day of January,* 1153. Book I.

The Norman chronicle, as publiſhed in Ducheſne, puts this event under the year 1151, as it does the death of the earl of Anjou under the year 1150. But Ducheſne himſelf has obſerved, that the copy from which he printed that work is very full of anachroniſms. Many indeed of the moſt approved writers, who lived in theſe times, differ in their dates even of very important facts. The diſagreement between them may, ſometimes, be reconciled, by obſerving, that ſome of them compute the beginning of the year from the incarnation, others from the nativity, others from the paſſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. And thoſe who reckon not by the years of Chriſt, but by the years of a king's reign, (as ſeveral do) are not agreed in that computation; for, if a king came to the crown about the middle or end of a year, ſome reckon the interval between his coronation and the following year the firſt of his reign, beginning the ſecond with the commencement of the next year: Others, on the contrary, take no account of thoſe broken months, but date the reign from the beginning of the enſuing year. But there are ſome inſtances, where the diſcordance, in point of chronology, cannot be accounted for either way; but muſt be owing to inaccuracy and miſtake in the writers, or in the copies which we have of their books. I have taken great pains, throughout this hiſtory, to fix the dates as exactly as poſſible; but do not think it neceſſary to trouble my readers, upon every occaſion, with giving my reaſons why I have preferred one authority to another.

P. 228.

Book II.

P. 228. *The earl of Arundel, having aſſembled the Engliſh nobility, and principal officers, ſpoke to this effect:* &c.

Vid. Gerv. Chron. p. 1373.

Gervaſe of Canterbury, in his account of this event, makes the earl of Arundel propoſe an agreement with Henry to Stephen himſelf, without having firſt ſuggeſted it to the nobles, or being ſecure of their aſſent. And he ſuppoſes, that it aroſe from *accident*, not *deſign*; becauſe the king's horſe had fallen with him three times, which the earl thought *a bad omen*, and *for that reaſon* adviſed him to make a peace. One would alſo imagine, from his way of relating it, that Stephen came into a propoſal ſo ſudden, and ſo diſadvantageous to himſelf and his family, without any reluctance, and chiefly on *that account*. But this is very improbable in every circumſtance, eſpecially as it appears by ſeveral proofs, that this prince was remarkably free from ſuperſtition. Henry of Huntington, another contemporary hiſtorian, gives a more rational account of this matter in many particulars. According to him, it was entirely the act of the Engliſh nobility, who forced both Stephen and Henry into it againſt their will. His words are theſe: "Inſurrexerunt "autem proceres, immo proditores, Angliæ, *de* "*concordia inter eos agentes, nihil tamen magis quam* "*diſcordiam diligentes: ſed bellum committere nolebant,* "*quia neutrum exaltare volebant, ne, altero ſubacto,* "*alteriis liberè dominetur, ſed ſemper alter alterum* "*metuens regiam in eos poteſtatem exercere non poſſet.* "Inducias igitur inter ſe rex, duxque conſtituerunt, "*coacti nolentes, &c.*"

Huntington, f. 227.

There are very few paſſages in any of our old Engliſh writers, which deſerve more regard, for the good ſenſe contained in them, and for the light which they throw upon a part of our hiſtory left very dark by all others. Yet it muſt be obſerved, that

that the earl of Arundel is not mentioned by Henry of Huntington in this affair: but as his narrative of it is ſhort, that omiſſion will prove nothing againſt what is ſaid by other hiſtorians, of that nobleman's having been the firſt mover of it, and having greatly contributed to its ſucceſs by the ſpeech he made on this ſubject. I have therefore agreed ſo far with thoſe writers; but in the occaſion and purport of the ſpeech, as well as in the effect that it had on Stephen, I have preferred the authority of Henry of Huntington, who ſeems to have been better informed, or to have judged more ſagaciouſly of the real motives and ſprings of this revolution.

In compoſing the ſpeech, I have follwed the example of the moſt admired hiſtorians, Thucydides, Livy, Salluſt, Tacitus, Guicciardino, Bentivoglio, Lord Bacon, and ſeveral others, both of ancient and modern times, who thought it proper to introduce ſome ornaments of this nature into their narratives; though ſome perſons of good ſenſe have objected againſt them, particularly Pere Daniel. They certainly give a dignity and ſpirit to hiſtory; for which reaſon, I think, they ought to be admitted, when they are only brought in upon great and weighty occaſions, and when there is warrant ſufficient to determine the matter, and general ſcope of them; as in this given here. I have ſometimes abridged thoſe that are delivered down to us in our ancient hiſtorians, if they appeared to be tedious; and ſome, which I thought impertinent, I have left out; but moſt of them are tranſlated, without variation, from the contemporary writers.

NOTES.

NOTES

TO THE

SECOND BOOK

OF THE

Hiſtory of the Life of King HENRY the Second.

PAGE 292. *He therefore ſummoned a parliament, wherein almoſt all his nobles were preſent, and having properly laid before them the wants of the crown, the loſſes it had ſuffered, the illegality of the grants, and the urgent neceſſity of a ſpeedy reſumption, obtained their concurrence to it, and proceeded to put it in immediate execution.* Book II.

It does not appear that this ſecret article of the treaty of Wincheſter had received the ſanction of parliament, as the three others had done, during the life of King Stephen. That prince (one may preſume) delayed to aſk it, for fear of offending the nobles of his own faction; and Henry durſt not preſs him (as he did in other inſtances) to execute this part of the agreement between them, leſt he ſhould take advantage of it to excite new commotions in England, before he himſelf had obtained a peace from Louis. It was therefore neceſſary to aſk the concurrence of parliament to this reſumption, after he came to the crown: and he ſeems to have

Book II.

have acted wiſely in not propoſing it to them, till the expulſion of the foreign troops, and demolition of the caſtles, had been fully executed.

P. 293. *The cauſe aſſigned for theſe reſumptions was not a defect in the title of the grantor*, &c.

Some hiſtorians have indeed given that reaſon for them; but the fact itſelf proves the contrary. For, in that caſe, only the grants which Stephen had made would have been reſumed by his ſucceſſor, not thoſe of Matilda. Beſides, we are aſſured, that Stephen himſelf had conſented to theſe reſumptions at the treaty of Wincheſter, which he would never have done upon the foundation of the grants being illegal, *becauſe made by him*. The true reaſon was the poverty of the crown, or (to uſe the words of William of Newbury) *quod regii redditus breves eſſent, qui avito tempore uberes fuerant*; and the danger of leaving in the hands of the barons ſo many of the royal fortreſſes, which Gervaſe calls, with great propriety, *Rebellionem materiam, et ſuſpicionem cauſas*.

Neubrigen. p. 282. l. ii. Gerv. Chron. p. 1377.

P. 304. *He therefore joined two laymen in the commiſſion, the earl of Leiceſter and Richard de Lucy.*

It ſeems that the earl of Leiceſter had the precedence of Richard de Lucy, though both are ſtyled equally *Juſticiarii Angliæ*, in the records of thoſe times. Dugdale, in his Baronage, ſuppoſes that the latter was not made Juſticiary till the eighth year of Henry II. and quotes for it Roger Hoveden, who ſays no ſuch thing, but only mentions him as Juſticiary in ſome of the tranſactions which paſt in that year. Indeed this work of that learned author is much more inaccurate than moſt of his other writings, and ought to be read with caution.

P. 311.

P. 311. *And juſt before the death of Stephen the archdeaconry of Canterbury was likewiſe given to him by the ſame prelate.* Book II.

Fitzſtephen ſays, that the archdeaconry of Canterbury was the firſt dignity in the church of England, next to the biſhops and abbots, and was worth to Becket a hundred pounds *per ann.* equivalent to a benefice of fifteen hundred at preſent. *Poſt epiſcopos et abbates, in eccleſia Anglorum hic primas et dignior eſt perſonatus, et ei valebat centum libras argenti.*

P. 314. *The Chancellor of England, at this time, had no diſtinct court of judicature in which he preſided; but he acted together with the Juſticiary and other great officers, in matters of the revenue, at the Exchequer, and ſometimes in the counties, upon circuits.*

Britton, who flouriſhed in the reign of Edward the Firſt, writing of all other courts, from the higheſt tribunal to the court-baron, makes no mention of the chancery (ſee Dugdale's Origin. Juridiciales.) And Mr. Madox ſays, that, till the reign of King John, the chancery was uſually holden at the Exchequer, the great ſeal being commonly kept and many or moſt of the chancery writs diſpatched and ſealed there. But the ſame author has ſhewn, that, in the reign of Henry the Second, pleas were held in the county of Kent, before the king's Chancellor, and the earl of Leiceſter, chief-juſtice, and alſo before the Chancellor, and Henry de Eſſex, high-conſtable, (ſee Madox's Hiſtory of the Exchequer, c. ii. p. 42, 43.)

We have a deſcription of the office of Chancellor in the following words of a contemporary writer of Becket's life: "Cancellarii dignitas eſt, ut "ſecundus a rege in regno habeatur: ut alterâ parte "ſigilli regii, quod et ad ejus pertinet cuſtodiam, "propria ſignet mandata: ut capella regia in illius

"ſit

Book II.

" ſit diſpoſitione et cura: ut vacantes archiepiſco-
" patus, epiſcopatus, abbatias et baronias cadentes
" in manum regis ipſe ſuſcipiat et conſervet: ut
" omnibus regiis adſit conſiliis; etiam non vocatus
" accedat: ut omnia ſigilliferi clerici regii ſua
" manu ſignentur:" (ſee Dugdale's Origin. juri-
dicial. & Selden. upon the office of Chancellor.)
But the dignity of this office is exaggerated by this
author, probably from a deſire of doing honor to
Becket. For the Dialogus de Scaccario expreſly
ſays, that the Great Juſticiary had the precedence
in the court of Exchequer before the Chancellor,
and it appears from many other proofs that his
power and dignity were greater at this time. Nor
is it true, that the cuſtody of vacant prelacies or of
baronies eſcheated to the crown belonged officially
to the Chancellor. For it appears evidently by the
rolls, that the king committed it to whom he
pleaſed, (ſee Hiſt. of the Exchequer, c. 10.) Some
of theſe had been granted to Becket, but not in
right of his office. Upon the whole, this paſſage
deſerves little regard.

See Duck de Authoritate Jur. Civ. c. viii. p. 305.

There are ſome verſes of John of Saliſbury, in
his preface to his Polycraticon, which have made
ſome perſons think, that, as early as in the reign
of King Henry the Second, the Chancellor had a
power to temper and moderate the common law by
equity. The verſes are theſe:

" Quærendus regni tibi cancellarius Angli,
" Primus ſollicita mente petendus erit.
" Hic eſt qui regni leges cancellat iniquas,
" Et mandata pii principis æqua facit.
" Si quid obeſt populo, vel moribus eſt inimicum,
" Quicquid id eſt, per eum deſinit eſſe nocens."

But, from other proofs, it appears, that this was
not a deſcription of the chancellor's office, as it was
in thoſe days; but a perſonal compliment paid to
Becket,

Becket, with ſuch exaggerations as poetry may admit of, and a quibble upon the words *cancellat* and *cancellarius*.

As a ſpecimen of the inaccuracy of Monſieur Rapin Thoyras, in his hiſtory of this reign, and of the little knowledge he had of our ancient conſtitution, I ſhall tranſcribe a paſſage out of him, as tranſlated by Mr. Tindal, who has faithfully rendered his ſenſe: "After the king (ſays he) had "taken all the precautions he thought proper, for "the reſtoring tranquillity in the kingdom, he "choſe a council out of the moſt eminent perſons, "as well among the clergy as the nobility. Theo- "bald, archbiſhop, Thomas Becket, archdeacon "of Canterbury, who was juſt made chancellor; "Robert, earl of Leiceſter, great juſticiary of the "realm, held the firſt rank in it. At the head of "the *cabinet-council* was Matilda his mother, whom "long experience, and her own misfortunes, had "rendered wiſe at her own coſt. *Theſe two councils* "*being eſtabliſhed, &c.*" There was not, in thoſe days, or for many centuries after, any ſuch thing in this country as a *cabinet-council*; and after Henry the Second came to the crown Matilda was never in England. But Rapin makes perpetual miſtakes of this nature; and, except in what relates to eccleſiaſtical matters, about which he ſeems to have taken more pains, is a moſt careleſs and ſuperficial writer of the hiſtory of this country, till he comes down to the times of Henry the Seventh. His ſenſible and learned tranſlator, Mr. Tindal, has corrected many of his errors; but was forced to leave many more, which any reader will ſee, who will compare Rapin's work with our ancient hiſtorians, or with the cleareſt accounts of our ancient conſtitution.

Book II.

P. 328. *He likewiſe inſiſted, and not without an ancient claim, that Malcolm ſhould acknowledge himſelf his vaſſal for Lothian.*

Some of the modern Scotch hiſtorians having denied the fact here aſſerted, I think it proper to give my authorities, with ſome ſhort obſervations. The words of Diceto (Imag. Hiſtor.) under the year 1157, are theſe: "Melchomus rex Scotorum reddidit ei (Henrico, ſcilicet) civitatem Carleul, "caſtrum Baenburg, Novum caſtrum ſuper Tinam, "*et commitatem Lodonenſem.*" The Norman chro- "nicle of Robertus de Monte has alſo theſe words: "Hoc anno Malcolmus rex Scotorum reddidit "Henrico regi quicquid habebat de dominio ſuo, "id eſt, civitatem Carlcuith, caſtrum Baemburch, "Novum caſtrum ſuper Tinam, *et comitatum Lo-* "*donenſem.*" As theſe are both contemporary teſtimonies, they are of great weight; and I may add to them the annals of Waverley and Matthew Paris. Yet, I preſume, they are all inaccurate in giving the reader to underſtand, that the county of Lothian was reſtored to King Henry in the ſame manner as the other places there mentioned. For only the *ſovereignty* of it was yielded to him; the country being ſtill poſſeſſed by Malcolm, but held in fief of the Engliſh crown, as it had been by Keneth the Third and other kings of Scotland. And for this reaſon it was, that, in paying his homage, he did it with a ſaving *to his royal dignity*; that it might appear, it was only for this part of Scotland, not for the whole kingdom. Had he done homage only for the earldom of Huntington, there would have been no need of this ſaving; ſince his being a vaſſal for a county of England could not juſtly be ſuppoſed to impeach his royal dignity, as king of Scotland. And this alſo accounts for the ſilence of William of Newbury, who mentions only the three

three Northern countries, as now reſtored to Henry; becauſe Lothian was not upon the ſame foot with them, but ſtill remained in the poſſeſſion of the Scotch, though under condition of homage and fealty to England. That, in ſome way or other, it was ſubject to Henry, a proof may be drawn from the words of Henry himſelf, in the letters patent he gave to Dermot king of Leinſter, the preamble of which is as follows: "Henricus, rex "Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ, et comes "Andegaviæ, univerſis *fidelibus ſuis*, Anglis, Nor- "mannis, Gwalenſibus, et *Scotis*, cunctiſque na- "tionibus ſuæ ditioni ſubditis, ſalutem." The three Northern counties having before been recovered, the only Scotch ſubjects, or liegemen, Henry could have at this time, were the Scotch inhabiting Lothian, unleſs we ſhould ſuppoſe that ſome of that nation had fiefs in England, of which I find no evidence in records or hiſtory. It does not well appear, why Diceto, the annals of Waverley, and the Norman chronicle, in the paſſages cited above, mention only Carliſle, the caſtle of Bamburg, and Newcaſtle upon Tine, as yielded now to Henry by the king of Scotland; whereas it is certain, from the teſtimony of William of Newbury, and other good evidence, that all the three Northern counties were delivered up to him. Theſe were indeed the chief places of Cumberland and Northumberland; but the counties ſhould have been mentioned, as they are very diſtinctly by William of Newbury, a contemporary hiſtorian.

V. Girald. Cambren. Hibernia expugnat. lib. i. cap. 1.

V. Neubrig. l. ii. c. 4.

With regard to the claim which the kings of England had of homage for Lothian, theſe are the words of the Wallingford chronicle, written by an Abbot, who lived under Henry the Second: "Sug- "geſſit rex Kineth regi Eadgaro Louthion ad ſuum "jus debere pertinere, et hæreditarè à regibus "Scotorum

V. Chronic. Johan. Wallingford.

Book II.

" Scotorum poſſideri. Rex nolens aliquid abruptè
" facere, ne poſt factum pœniteret, regis Kineth
" cauſam curiæ ſuæ intimavit. Proceres vero, qui
" à progenitoribus erant eruditi, niſi ſub nomine
" homagii regi Angliæ à rege Scotorum impenſi,
" et præcipuè quia ad tuendum terram illam diffi-
" cilis eſt acceſſus et parum proficua ejus dominatio,
" aſſenſit autem aſſertioni huic Kineth, *et ſub nomine*
" *homagii eam petiit et accepit, fecitque regi Eadgaro*
" *homagium*, ſub cautione multa promittens, quod
" populo partis illius antiquas conſuetudines non
" negaret, et ſub nomine et linguâ Anglicanâ per-
" manerent. *Quod uſque hodie firmum manet.* Sic-
" que determinata eſt vetus querela de Louthion,
" et adhuc nova ſæpe intentatur."

Though the paſſage is evidently mutilated in two places, enough of it is clear, to prove a very ancient dependence of Lothian on the Engliſh crown. Which is alſo confirmed by Matthew of Weſtminſter, with this remarkable circumſtance, " Dedit inſuper " ei rex (Eadgarus) manſiones in itinere plurimas, " ut ipſe et ejus ſucceſſores ad feſtum venientes, ac " denuo revertentes, hoſpitari valuiſſent, quæ uſque " in tempora regis Henrici ſecundi, in poteſtate " regum Scotiæ remanſerunt." Florence of Worceſter alſo ſo far confirms it, that he reckons Keneth among the kings and princes who ſwore fealty to Edgar. The ſtory told by this hiſtorian of Keneth and ſeven other princes of the Cumbrian Britons or Welſh having rowed the barge of Edgar on the river Dee, I much doubt of: but his evidence as to the *vaſſalage* of Keneth is not liable to the ſame objections.

P. Ibid. *And the Engliſh monarch conferred on him the earldom of Huntington, againſt the claim of the earl of Northampton, to whoſe father it had been given*

given by Stephen on the death of Henry prince of Scotland.

No mention is made, in any hiſtory or record, of the county of Cambridge being annexed to this grant of earldom of Huntington. Yet it appears by records, that David, the grandfather of Malcolm, received the third penny of the county or earldom of Cambridge, when he was earl of Huntington. Poſſibly the two counties were then united. We alſo find that the young King Henry added it to the grant of Huntingtonſhire, which he made to David the brother of William king of Scotland, when he confederated with that prince againſt his father, in the year 1173. After this we hear no more of this earldom, till Sir John of Haynault, brother of William earl of Holland and Haynault, was made earl of Cambridge by King Edward the Third.

See Camden's Britannia, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

P. 331. *but, from ſome remains of it, which are ſtill to be ſeen, and for ſeveral other reaſons, I ſhould judge that it (viz. Offa's Ditch) was rather intended for a boundary, to ſeparate the territories of the Engliſh from thoſe of the Welſh, than to protect the former, as a fortification.*

A law of Harold Harefoot is mentioned by Mr. Selden, which enacts, that if any Welſhman, coming into England without leave, was taken on this ſide of Offa's Ditch, his right-hand ſhould be cut off by the king's officer. This ſtatute ſhews, that ſo late as in the reign of that Daniſh monarch, this ditch was conſidered as a diſcriminating limit between the two nations; but afterwards, when all the borders of Wales beyond that ditch were filled with Engliſh colonies, and the Welſh themſelves had ſubmitted to the ſovereignty of the Engliſh under

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feudal bonds of allegiance, it was neceſſarily abrogated and fell into diſuſe.

P. 333. *but the two younger were ſubordinate to the eldeſt, who had North-Wales, and held his royal ſeat at Aberffraw in the iſle of Angleſea, which was the Mona of the Britons.*

Vid. Præfat. Gul. Clarke ad Leg. Wal.

The very intelligent and ſenſible author of the general Preface to Wotton's collection of the Welſh Laws is of opinion, that the ſovereignty of the kings of North-Wales over thoſe of South-Wales and Powis-land did not exiſt in theſe times, but was a claim ſet up afterwards, about the days of our Henry the Second. Though I perfectly agree with him in moſt other points, I do not think his arguments here are ſufficient to overturn the authority of ſo many writers as are unanimous in the other opinion, which I the rather incline to, becauſe it ſeems that the Welſh would hardly have continued without a head, or under princes independent the one of the other, when they had a conſtant war to maintain with the Saxons. It is therefore very probable, that they gave a pre-eminence to the king of North-Wales, whoſe country was the ſtrongeſt; and that the two others were ſubordinate to, and dependent on him; as, in each royal family of the three kingdoms, the younger ſons were on the eldeſt.

P. Ibid. *and made a reformation of their political, civil, and municipal laws, which were digeſted by him into three books.*

Vid. Præfationes IV. ad Leg Wall.

In the four prefaces to theſe laws, as publiſhed in England, I find a great difference with regard to the manner in which Howel Dha made this reformation. The firſt ſays, he convened out of every

every *commote* (which was a leſſer diviſion of *cantreds*, or *hundreds*) ſix men, among whom were perſons of dignity in the church, biſhops, archbiſhops, abbots, and doctors; that out of the whole number of theſe, when aſſembled together, twelve of the wiſeſt laymen were choſen, and one clergyman of the greateſt reputation among them for knowledge in the laws, to whom the king gave authority to aboliſh ſuch laws as they ſhould judge to be bad, and ſubſtitute others in their place; which work, being finiſhed, received a ſanction from all the aſſembly. Blegored (who at that time was archdeacon of Landaff) is afterwards mentioned in that preface, as having had a principal hand in this reformation.

The ſecond preface ſays, that, out of the wiſeſt men in his territories *(in principatu ſuo)* Howel aſſembled ſix from every *cantred* (not *commote*) in all Wales, of which four were laymen, and two were eccleſiaſticks; that *theſe* examined the laws then in uſe, alleviated what ſeemed too ſevere, and aggravated what was too light; left ſome unaltered; amended, or abrogated others; and enacted ſome new ones. With this account the fourth preface perfectly agrees.

But the third agrees with the firſt, that the ſix men were choſen from every *commote* in Wales; and that they delegated their authority to twelve laymen, and one clergyman, namely, Blegored, of whom no mention is made in the other two.

It is plain, from theſe differences, that none of the four prefaces were affixed to the laws by Howel Dha, but were added in later times. The firſt of them is ſuppoſed to be the moſt ancient. Some authors report, that Howel went in perſon to Rome, and obtained the pope's confirmation of the laws he had compiled. But none of the prefaces men-

Vid. Præfat. Gul. Clarke ad Leg. Wal.

Vid. Præfat. prædict.

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tion this circumſtance; and (as an author who underſtands the Welſh language affirms) it is not to be found in the original hiſtory of Caradoc of Lancarvon, though it is in the tranſlation of Humphrey Llwyd, publiſhed by Dr. Powel; that tranſlator having added, not very judiciouſly, ſome things of his own to the text of his author. The fact in queſtion is evidently falſe: for it is impoſſible that the pope could have given his ſanction to ſome of theſe laws; particularly thoſe concerning divorces, in which a much greater liberty is allowed than the ſee of Rome has ever admitted; a ſtinking breath in the huſband being accounted there a good reaſon for a divorce, beſides other cauſes, which it will not be neceſſary or decent to enumerate here.

P. 346. *Twelve knights, of conſiderable note and diſtinction, were retained in his ſervice*, &c.

Their names were William de Londres, Richard de Greenfield, or Granville, Paine de Tuberville, Robert de St. Quintin, Richard de Syward, Gilbert de Humfreville, Roger de Berkrolles, Reginald de Sully, Peter le Score, John le Fleming, Oliver de St. John, William le Eſterling, called for ſhortneſs Stradling.

P. 382. *He therefore reſolved to attempt it, and having drawn out of the whole militia of England a very great army, he led it through Cheſhire into Flintſhire*, &c.

Vid. Chron. Norm. ſub ann. 1156.

According to the Norman chronicle of Robertus de Monte, there was ſomething very particular in the manner of raiſing this army. His words are theſe: "Rex Henricus præparavit maximam expe-" ditionem, *ita ut duo milites de tota Anglia tertium* " *pararent*, ad opprimendum Gualenſes." Mr. Madox has ſhewn, in his Hiſtory of the Exchequer,

that a ſcutage was raiſed for this war on the clergy that held of the crown by knight-ſervice. We muſt therefore underſtand the words above-cited, as only extending to lay-fees. But I rather doubt the truth of it, as it is not confirmed by our records, or by any Engliſh writer who lived in thoſe times. I find indeed the ſame words in the annals of Waverley; but as it is probable this part of thoſe annals was not compiled till long afterwards (for the words of the Norman chronicle are often tranſcribed in them) I think it does not add much to the credit of the original author. Book II.

P. 383. *But this appearance was only an artifice to draw the Engliſh into a narrow and difficult paſs, between two ranges of hills,* &c.

Camden, in his Britannia, ſays, that this paſs is near the river Alen; and it appears to have been formed by ſome hills, which, in the map he has given of Flintſhire, are placed to the north of that river between Kilken and Flint. Dr. Powel, in his Notes to the Welſh chronicle, mentions this action, as it is deſcribed by William of Newbury; and ſays, that the ſtreights, which the Engliſh army were then attempting to paſs, were at Counſylth, near Flint. Probably they mean the ſame place. There was another road on the ſands along the ſea-ſhore, which Henry, it may be preſumed, avoided at firſt, from an apprehenſion of ſome danger in paſſing thoſe ſands, though he afterwards took it, as ſafer than the former from the ambuſcades of the Welſh. Giraldus Cambrenſis, in his account of this country, has mentioned both. His words are theſe: "In cellula de Baſinwerke pernoctavimus. "In craſtino vero longum vivumque per loca ſabu-"lum, non abſque formidine, permeantes, ſylve-"ſtria de Coleſhull, id eſt, Carbonis colle, à dextrâ "reli- See Camden's Britannia, FLINTSHIRE.

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" reliquimus, ubi Anglorum rex, Henricus ſecun-
" dus, noſtris diebus, cum primo Walliam hoſtiliter
" intravit, juvenili impetu et inconſulto calore
" arctum illud ſylveſtre penetrare præſumens, cum
" detrimento ſuorum et damno non modico, am-
" biguam bellorum aleam expertus eſt." The place which Camden and Giraldus call Coleſhull, or, in modern Engliſh, *Coleſhill*, is called in the Welſh chronicle *Coed Eulo*. But it is obſervable, that, by the account which is given in that chronicle of this engagement, it ſeems that the king was not preſent in it himſelf, but only a detachment from his camp near Cheſter. Nevertheleſs, the clear teſtimony of Giraldus Cambrenſis, William of Newbury, and Gervaſe of Canterbury, contemporary writers; and the duel and condemnation of Henry de Eſſex, in conſequence of it, leave us no room to doubt that he was there in perſon. Perhaps the error is not in the chronicle, but in Humphrey Llwyd's tranſlation, which not underſtanding the original language, I am forced to make uſe of, as publiſhed by Dr. Powel, and ſince, with ſome alterations, by the Rev. Mr. Wynne.

P. 393. *and this ſufficiently accounts for none of thoſe coins having ever been found.*

Mr. Folkes, in his book on Engliſh coins, mentions ſome ſome pennies coined at York with the name Euſtacius. But as Euſtace was the king's eldeſt ſon, and as his father deſired to have him crowned in his own life-time, I do not reckon theſe among the coins abovementioned; though theſe alſo would undoubtedly have been melted down and deſtroyed by King Henry the Second, if they had not been loſt, or ſecreted. Mr. Folkes alſo mentions another coin he had ſeen in the Earl of Pembroke's collection, that has the name of King

Stephen only on the reverſe, and on the foreſide a profile head with a croſier and + HEN ... VS EP. C. which he ſuppoſes to be the head of Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, brother to the king (ſee Folkes's Table of Engliſh Coins, p. 5.) But probably this was coined at one of the Royal Mints.

P. 400. *Some accounts that are given of the luxury and expence of his table are incredible*, &c.

Fitzſtephen tells us, that one day there was ſerved up to Becket, during this embaſſy, a ſingle diſh of eels, which coſt five pounds ſterling *(centum ſolidis ſterlingorum emptum.)* He adds, that it was talked of all over the country; and well it might; for, twenty ſhillings in thoſe days containing in them as much ſilver as ſixty in theſe, or little leſs, if we eſtimate ſilver at only five times above the preſent value, as much was paid for this ſingle diſh of eels, as if we now bought one for ſeventy five pounds ſterling, or thereabout. But ſuch a price exceeds all belief. And it muſt be obſerved, that this author is very apt to exaggerate in his accounts of thoſe times; but more eſpecially in what he writes to the honor of Becket.

P. 413. *Nor does it ſeem that the policy of thoſe times ever regarded his dominions upon the French continent as prejudicial to England. Thoſe which were maritime provinces (and moſt of them were ſo) appeared very commodious to the Engliſh, on account of their trade; eſpecially Normandy and Bretagne; which, lying oppoſite to their coaſts, ſecured to that nation the ſovereignty of the whole Britiſh ocean.*

There is a fine paſſage in the ſpeech, which Lord Bacon, in his Hiſtory of King Henry the Seventh, puts into the mouth of Thomas Morton, archbiſhop of Canterbury and chancellor of England,

Book II. land, as delivered to the parliament called by that prince in the third year of his reign, on the war which the king of France was then preparing to make againſt the duke of Bretagne. The words are theſe: "If the French king ſhall make a pro-
"vince of Bretagne, and join it to the crown of
"France, then it is worthy the conſideration how
"this may import England, as well in the increaſ-
"ment of the greatneſs of France by the addition
"of ſuch a country, *which ſtretches its boughs unto*
"*our ſeas*, as in depriving this nation, and leaving
"it naked of ſo firm and aſſured confederates, as
"the Britons have ever been. For then it will
"come to paſs, that whereas, not long ſince, *this*
"*realm was mighty upon the continent, firſt in terri-*
"*tory, and after in alliance, in reſpect of Burgundy*
"*and Bretagne, which were confederates indeed, but*
"*dependent confederates*; now the one being already
"caſt, partly into the greatneſs of France and
"partly into that of Auſtria, the other is like
"wholly to be caſt into the greatneſs of France;
"*and this iſland ſhall remain confined in effect within*
"*the ſalt-waters, and girt about with the coaſt coun-*
"*tries of two mighty monarchs.*"

On this I would obſerve, that a more dreadful evil than Lord Bacon makes Chancellor Morton expreſs his apprehenſions of, in the foregoing paſſage, would have come upon England, if the ambitious deſigns of France had not been checked by two *grand alliances* formed in the laſt century. For, without the reſiſtance they made, not only Bretagne, but *all* the territories of the houſe of Burgundy, *which ſtretch their boughs unto our ſeas*, would have been added to her empire; and *we ſhould have been girt about with the coaſt-countries of* ONE *mighty monarch, inſtead of two.* The preſent ſtate of the Dutch and the Auſtrian Netherlands is not ſuch as will

will abſolutely remove that fear from any thinking man: but there will be much more reaſon to dread it, if we either become indifferent to the ſtate of the continent, or, from the load of our debt, ſhall be unable to aſſiſt our confederates there againſt the invaſions of that power, which hitherto nothing has been able to reſtrain, but the wealth and valor of this nation exerted in defence of the liberty of Europe, wherein its own is compriſed.

P. 421. *Inſtead therefore of haſtening to lay ſiege to Toulouſe, while Louis remained in that city, he declared his reſolution, that, out of reſpect to the perſon of that king, he would not beſiege it.*

For this I have the authority of William of Newbury, the Norman chronicle, Diceto, Brompton, and two contemporary writers of Becket's life, Fitzſtephen and John of Saliſbury, the latter of whom, from his very intimate connection with that prelate, muſt have perfectly known all the circumſtances of this affair. But Gervaſe of Canterbury and Hoveden ſay, that King Henry beſieged Toulouſe, and lay before it ſome months. Father Daniel, to reconcile as well as he could thoſe contradictory accounts, has ſuppoſed, that, after the town was inveſted by Henry, and ready to ſurrender, Louis forced one of the enemy's quarters, and made his way into it; upon which Henry raiſed the ſiege. But for this manner of bringing the king of France to the relief of the town he has not a word of contemporary authority. The account given of it by William of Newbury is much the moſt probable, and conſiſtent with itſelf. "Idem "vero comes, tanti exercitûs impetum pertimeſ- "cens, regis Francorum, qui uxoris ſuæ germanus "et filiorum avunculus erat, auxilium imploravit. "Qui Zelando pro nepotibus *feſtimus adveniens* cum "aliquantâ

Pere Dan. Hiſtoire de France, l. vii. ſub ann. 1158.

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" aliquantâ militiâ Toloſam intravit. Quod cum " innotuiſſet regi Anglorum, perſonæ regis ibidem " conſiſtentis deferens *civitatem oppugnare diſtulit*, " et ad pervadendam provinciam expugnandaſque " munitiones convertit exercitum."

P. 425. *but in that month they concluded a treaty of peace, the terms of which were very advantageous and honorable to Henry*, &c.

This treaty is not in Rymer, nor any printed book. But there is a very old copy of it among the Harleian Manuſcripts in the Britiſh Muſeum, which, I believe, is the only one extant. It is joined to ſome ſelect epiſtles of Becket, which ſeem, by the hand, to have been collected ſoon after the death of that prelate. This I preſume was added to that collection, becauſe Becket, whoſe name is among the witneſſes to it, had a principal ſhare in negociating it on the part of his maſter. Not only it appears, that no modern hiſtorian has had any knowledge of it; but there is reaſon to think, that ſome of thoſe who lived in that age did not know the contents of it; eſpecially of the firſt part concerning the Vexin, which abſolutely juſtifies King Henry the Second from any imputation of fraud in the method of acquiring that province. A tranſcript of it may be ſeen in the Appendix.

P. 428. *It is obſervable, that the firſt mention we meet with in hiſtory of this impoſition on knight's-fees, which became afterwards very frequent, is upon this occaſion.*

The words of the Norman chronicle about it are theſe: " Rex Henricus iturus in expeditionem præ-" dictam, *et conſiderans longitudinem et difficultatem viæ*, " *nolens vexare agrarios milites, nec burgenſes nec ruſti-*

" *cos*,

" *eos, ſumptis* LX *ſolidis Andegavenſium in Normannia* " *de feudo uniuſcujuſque loricæ, et de reliquis omnibus,* " *tam in Normannia quam in Anglia, ſive etiam aliis* " *terris ſuis, ſecundum hoc quod ei viſum fuit, capi-* " *tales barones ſuos cum paucis ſecum duxit, ſolidarios* " *vero milites innumeros.*" (V. Chron. Norman. p. 995.)

This paſſage expreſſes with great clearneſs and preciſion both the motive and manner of introducing this commutation for perſonal ſervice in foreign wars.

Gervaſe of Canterbury alſo mentions this ſcutage in the following words: " Hoc anno (1159) rex " ſcotagium, ſive ſcutagium, de Anglia accepit, " cujus ſumma fuit centum millia et quater-viginti " millia librarum argenti. De aliis vero terris ſibi " ſubjectis *inauditam* ſimiliter cenſus fecit exac- " tionem." Nevertheleſs Mr. Madox has ſhewn, in his Hiſtory of the Exchequer, that a levy of ſcutage had been made in this kingdom, before the war of Toulouſe, viz. in the ſecond year of this king; but it was only aſſeſt upon the biſhops and abbots who held *in capite* of the crown; whereas this was general.

There is a paſſage in the ancient treatiſe, called Dialogus de Scaccario, written in the reign of Henry the Second, and publiſhed by Mr. Madox, from the Black and Red books of the Exchequer, which makes a particular mention of ſcutage: " Fit inter- " dum, ut imminente vel inſurgente in regnum " hoſtium machinatione, decernat rex de ſingulis " feodis militum ſummam aliquam ſolvi, marcam " (ſcilicit) vel libram unam, unde militibus ſtipen- " dia vel donativa ſuccedant. Mavult enim prin- " ceps ſtipendiarios quam domeſticos bellicis op- " ponere caſibus. Hæc itaque ſumma, quia nomine " ſcutorum ſolvitur, ſcutagium nuncupatur." From Lib. i. c. 22. tit. Scutagium.

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theſe words one ſhould think, that ſcutage had been raiſed for the defence of the kingdom againſt invaſions. But, beſides that the Norman chronicle, which, down to the year 1161, was written by Robert de Monte, a contemporary author, ſhews us the contrary; the ancient form of charging it was, *pro exercitu, de iis qui non abierunt cum rege* (ſee Hiſtory of the Exchequer); and, during this reign, I never find it taken but for ſome war beyond the Engliſh borders. And Lyttelton, in his *Tenures*, ſays, that *thoſe which hold by eſcuage* (which is a French tranſlation of the Latin word *ſcutagium*) *ought to do their ſervice ont of the realm*, (ſee Lyttelton's Tenures, Grand Serjeantie, ſect. 153.) He alſo ſays, that *they who hold by caſtleward, pay no eſcuage*, (Tenures of knight-ſervice, ſect. 111.) the reaſon of which ſays lord Coke, was, becauſe caſtleward was a ſervice *within the realm*. Therefore the words *imminente vel inſurgente in regnum hoſtium machinatione*, cited above from the Dialogus de Scaccario, muſt be conſidered as looſe and inaccurate.

Mr. Madox ſuppoſes, in the Hiſtory of the Exchequer, that, till the times of King Henry the Third, whenever any ſcutages were to be levied, the barons and tenants *in capite* did, by the king's command, ſend in certificates of their reſpective fees, either *toties quoties*, or, at leaſt, moſt uſually. For it appears by a record, that, in the eighteenth year of Henry the Second, ſome perſons were charged with the ſcutage of Ireland, under the title, *De iis qui cartas non miſerunt*. (See Hiſtory of the Exchequer, p. 440. c. 16.)

In the paſſage quoted above, from the Dialogus de Scaccario, it is ſaid, that a mark, or a pound, was the ſcutage uſually charged upon every knight's-fee. No computation can be made at what rate each knight's-fee was charged to the ſcutage for the war of Toulouſe,

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Toulouſe, becauſe, though we know the whole ſum produced by it, we are not aſſured from how many knight's-fees it was raiſed. But, by the greatneſs of the ſum, the rate muſt have been conſiderably more than a mark, or a pound. I ſhould ſuppoſe, that the ſcutages varied according to the ſervice for which the military tenant commuted. If he was required to follow the king to a very diſtant country, the compoſition to exempt him from the obligation of performing that ſervice was higher. But where it was taken for a war on the borders of England, a lighter might ſuffice. The firſt ſcutage raiſed by King Henry the Second for the army ſerving in Wales, was at one pound a knight's-fee. This was in the ſecond year of his reign, when the prelates only paid it, as appears by a paſſage in the Red book of the Exchequer. Yet Alexander de Swereford, who made the collections in that book, under Henry the Third, mentions another ſcutage for Wales, in the fifth year of Henry the Second, which amounted to two marks for every knight's-fee. It muſt have been charged at the latter end of that year, when we find that ſome commotions aroſe in Wales, the king being ſtill abroad in the war of Toulouſe. And it is very ſurpriſing, that in the abovementioned book there ſhould be no notice taken of the great ſcutage for that war, but only of this for Wales. I doubt whether this was a ſcutage. Alexander de Swereford ſays himſelf, that it was entered upon the rolls, not *ſcutagium*, but *donum*; and that ſome paid it, who did not hold by military tenures. It alſo appears, that it was determined by the Chief-juſtice of the Common-pleas in the reign of Edward the Third, *that eſcuage ſhall not be granted but where the king goeth in proper perſon*, (ſee Lyttelton's Tenures, p. 20. tit. Eſcuage.) As therefore Henry did not go himſelf

L. Rub. fol. not. 47. col. 2. Madox Hiſt. of Exchequer. Eſcuage, c. 16. p. 435.

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himſelf to this war, this could not be taken as *eſcuage*, but muſt have been granted as an *auxilium*, or *donum*. Mr. Madox obſerves, that, in Henry the Second's time, aids were called *dona*. (V. Præfat ad Dial. de Scaccario.)

L. Ruber, & Madox, ut ſupra.

The words of Alexander de Swereford are very expreſs to prove, that no ſcutage had been raiſed in England, before the reign of Henry the Second. *Primum omnium ſcutagiorum, prout rumor ex rotulis ad me devenit, aſſiſum fuit anno regni regis Henrici, filii imperatricis, ſecundo.* Nevertheleſs there is an article in the printed copies of King John's *Magna Charta*, taken from Matthew Paris by Dr. Brady, and by Wilkins, in his Collection of Anglo-Saxon laws; which if it were genuine, would contradict this aſſertion. It ſtand thus: "Scutagium de cæ-" tero capiatur, ſicut capi tempore regis Henrici " *avi noſtri* conſuevit." Now, as *avi noſtri* cannot ſignify the *father* of John, but may of his *great-grandfather*; this would be a proof, that ſcutage was taken in the time of King Henry the Firſt. But this article is not found in the moſt authentic copies. And I make no doubt, that it got into Matthew Paris's copy from the charter of Henry the Third, where it ſtands very properly, becauſe Henry the Second was *grandfather* to that king.

See the Edition of it by Blackſtone.

Mr. Madox indeed has mentioned a writ, which he found in the private Archives of Weſtminſter-college, and by which Henry the Firſt grants to the abbots and monks of Weſtminſter an exemption from ſcutage, for an eſtate they held of the earl of Cheſter; but, even admitting the writ to be genuine, it will be no proof againſt the opinion of Alexander de Swereford; becauſe *ſcutagium* (as Mr. Madox himſelf tells us) *when uſed in an extenſive ſenſe, did anciently ſignify any payment made upon knight's fees.* We alſo know, that it ſignified *ſervitium*

vitium ſcuti, or knight's-ſervice. And therefore the words of the writ, *Quiete de ſcutagio et omnibus ſæcularibus conſuetudinibas*, may be well underſtood to mean an exemption from military ſervice, and all other ſecular cuſtoms.

If a military tenant either went in perſon with the king to a war out of England, or ſent another to ſerve for him, he paid no ſcutage. Thus, in the eighteenth year of Henry II. ſeveral perſons are charged to eſcuage, under this title, *De ſcutagio militum, qui non abierunt in Hiberniam, nec milites pro ſe miſerunt.* See Madox of Eſcuage, Hiſt. of Exchеq. c. xvi. p. 438, 439. Indeed eſcuage, in the ſenſe of a pecuniary payment, being *a commutation for a ſervice ariſing out of a tenure*, viz. the tenure by knight's-ſervice, when that ſervice was performed in another manner, by the military tenant's ſending a man to ſerve for him, ſuch *commutation* could not take place. There was alſo a difference between this compoſition by eſcuage, and the *fines* paid to king by barons and knights holding in chief of the crown, for not ſerving abroad, when they had been ordered to do ſo by ſummons from the king. Earl William de Vernun fined to King John, *pro licentia remanendi*, and *that the king would receive the ſcutages of his knight's-fees which he held in capite.* In the reign of King Henry the Third, ſeveral tenants by knight's-ſervice paid *fines* to the king, *that they might not take the voyage into Gaſcoigne, beſides the ſcutages which they voluntarily granted to the king for that voyage.* (See Madox, ut ſupra, c xvi. p. 459.) Theſe inſtances ſhew, that ſcutages were not always accepted by the king, in lieu of the duty of perſonal ſervice from his military tenants. Nor indeed could they; becauſe mercenary ſoldiers, and chiefs of experience to command them, were not always to be had at the time they were wanted. And it

Book II.

ſeems to have been in the option of the king, whether he would accept them or not. Mr. Madox has given it as his opinion, "that *perſonal ſervice* was "required *moſt chiefly*, if not *ſolely*, of the tenants "holding by knight's-ſervice *in capite, ut de corona:* "For, if a man held his land of the king by "knight's-ſervice, as of an honor then being in the "king's hands, and not of the crown, ſuch tenant "was not indiſpenſably obliged to do *perſonal ſervice in the king's army*, but was to pay the king "eſcuage when it was aſſeſt. At leaſt this was "alledged to be the uſage in the reign of King "Edward the Second, in the caſe of Gerard de "Wacheſham and Thomas de Ingleſtorp:" (ſee Madox, ut ſupra, p. 454.) I much doubt whether it was ſo in the times of King Henry the Second; as I ſee no reaſon for it in the feudal policy; the tenants of an eſcheated barony being obliged to perform the ſame ſervice to the king, that they would have performed to the baron. The ſame author ſays, "Sometimes the barons and tenants "by knight's-ſervice were amerced, for not ſending their knights to ſerve for them in the king's "army; and ſometimes they were diſſeiſed of their "land for not doing their ſervice;" of both which he gives ſeveral inſtances from the rolls, (ſee Madox, ut ſupra, p. 461.) "But when barons or knights, "holding *in capite*, did actual ſervice in the king's "army, for ſo many fees as they were anſwerable "for; or *if they ſent knights in their ſtead, or if they "made fine for the ſame*, they were wont to be acquitted of eſcuage:" (ſee Madox, ut ſupra, p. 462.) It muſt be obſerved, that, that as ſome knight's-fees were ſmaller than others, the ſcutage upon them was alſo leſs in proportion.

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P. 430.

P. 430. *whereas we find it declared, by the charter of King John, that ſcutages ought to be aſſeſt by the tenants in chief of the crown aſſembled in parliament.* Book II.

Although this clauſe be left out of all the ſubſequent charters, yet it appears, by a writ of King Edward the Firſt's reign, cited by Mr. St. John, on the behalf of Mr. Hampden, in the caſe of ſhip-money, that ſcutage was granted by parliament: "Datum eſt nobis intelligi, quod plures ſunt qui "tenent per ſervitium militarium de nobis, qui "contradicunt ſolvere *ſcutagia, quæ nobis ſunt con-* "*ceſſa per commune concilium regni noſtri.*" And many proceſſes, iſſued for the levying of eſcuage granted in Edward the Firſt's time, were releaſed by Edward the Second; *Quia dictum ſervitium non fuit communiter factum*; that is, ſays Mr. St. John, that it was not done *per commune concilium regni.* The words of Sir Thomas Lyttleton, concerning this matter, require ſome obſervation: "And after "ſuch a voyage royal into Scotland, it is commony "ſaid, that, by authority of parliament, the eſcuage "ſhall be aſſeſſed, and put in certain; that is to ſay, "a certain ſum of money, how much every one "which holdeth by a whole knight's-fee, which "was neither by himſelf, nor by any other for him, "with the king, ſhall pay to his lord, of whom he "holds his land by eſcauge. As, put the caſe, that "it was ordained by the authority of the parlia-"ment, that every one which holdeth by a whole "knight's-fee, who was not with the king, ſhall "pay to his lord 40s. That he which holdeth "by the moiety of a knight's-fee, ſhall pay to his "lord but 20s. and he which holdeth by the fourth "part of a knight's-fee, ſhall pay but 10s. and "he which hath more, more; and which leſs, leſs. "And ſome hold by the cuſtom, that, if eſcuage Coke upon Lyttleton, ſect. 97.

Book II. " be aſſeſſed by authority of parliament at any ſum " of money, they ſhall pay but the moiety of that " ſum, and ſome but the fourth part of that ſum.

Sect. 98. ibid. " But becauſe the eſcuage that they ſhould pay is " uncertain; for that it is not certain how the par- " liament will aſſeſs the eſcuage, they hold by " knight's ſervice. But otherwiſe it is of eſcuage " certain, of which ſhall be ſpoken in the tenure " of ſocage." The ſame author ſays, in his chapter on ſocage, ſect. 120. " Alſo if a man holdeth " of his lord by eſcuage certain, i. e. in this man- " ner, when the eſcuage runneth, or is aſſeſſed by " parliament, to a greater or leſſer ſum, that the " tenant ſhall pay to his lord but half a mark for " eſcuage, and no more nor leſs, to how great a " ſum, or to how little the eſcuage runneth, &c. " ſuch tenure is tenure in ſocage, and not knight's- " ſervice."

The former chapter on eſcuage further declares, ſect. 100. " And it is to be underſtood, that, when " eſcuage is ſo aſſeſſed by authority of parliament, " every lord of whom the land is holden by eſcuage, " ſhall have the eſcuage ſo aſſeſſed by parliament; " becauſe it is intended by the law, that, at the " beginning, ſuch tenements were given by the " lords to the tenants to hold by ſuch ſervices, to " defend their lords, as well as the king, and to " put in quiet their lords and the king from the " Scotch aforeſaid. And becauſe ſuch tenements " came firſt from the lords, it is reaſon that they " ſhould have the eſcuage of their tenants. And " the lords, in ſuch caſe, may diſtrain for the eſ- " cuage ſo aſſeſſed; or they, in ſome caſes, may " have the king's writs directed to the ſheriffs of " the ſame counties, &c. to levy ſuch eſcuage for " them, as it appeareth by the regiſter."

All that is ſaid about eſcuage, in the paſſages here recited, relates to the methods in which it was raiſed upon the *ſub vaſſals*: and it is declared, that they pay it by right of their tenure, *becauſe it is intended by the law, that, at the beginning, ſuch tenements were given by the lords to the tenants to hold by ſuch ſervices, &c.* And though mention is only made of a war againſt Scotland, as if they had been bound to ſerve no where elſe, Lord Coke obſerves very rightly, "that Scotland is only put for an example; for that if the tenure be in Walliam, "Hiberniam, Vaſconiam, Pictavium, &c. it is all "one."

But it is further obſervable, that, from the words, *after ſuch a voyage royal into Scotland, it is commonly ſaid, that by authority of parliament, the eſcuage ſhall be aſſeſſed, and put in certain*, it ſeems as if the aſſeſſment by parliament was poſterior to the expedition for which the eſcuage was to be paid. Whereas it is ſaid by R. de Monte, that Henry the Second took eſcuage on account of his expedition againſt Toulouſe, before he went thither: "Rex Henricus "*iturus in expeditionem prædictam, et conſiderans* "*longitudinem et difficultatem viæ*, nolens vexare "agrarios milites, nec burgenſes, nec ruſticos, *ſumptis* LX *ſolidis Andegavenſium in Normannia de feudo* "*uniuſcujuſque loricæ, et de reliquis omnibus, &c.* "*ſecundum hoc quod ei viſum fuit, capitales barones* "*ſuos cum paucis ſecum duxit, ſolidarios vero milites* "*innumeros:*" (V. Chron. Norm. p. 995.) Probably it was found more convenient to make the aſſeſſments after the ſervice, than before, as it could not be previouſly known from what number of the tenants by knight-ſervice it was to be taken, becauſe the payment of it might be avoided by thoſe, who either went in perſon themſelves, or ſent men to ſerve for them. But the declaration, that the king

Book II.

would accept it in lieu of perſonal ſervice, muſt have been prior to the time of performing the ſervice: for, otherwiſe the perſons concerned would not have known, whether they might have the benefit of ſuch a commutation. Perhaps notice of this may have been given by the ſummons.

It appears from the paſſages above-cited, that ſome military tenants held under condition of paying but half of the eſcuage aſſeſt by the parliament, and others but a fourth. Nay, ſome there were, who ſo held, as that they were only to pay half a mark to their lord upon an aſſeſſment of eſcuage, whither higher or lower; which was called eſcuage certain; and ſuch tenants were not underſtood to hold by knight's-ſervice, but their tenure was ſocage. This was a great deviation from the firſt inſtitution of military fiefs; ſo great, that it entirely altered their nature. But I find no trace of any ſuch thing in the times that I write of; nor does it appear, that it extended to tenants in chief. All that Sir Thomas Lyttelton ſays of ſuch tenants is towards the latter end of his chapter on eſcuage, after having treated of the manner in which it was paid by their vaſſals: "*But of ſuch tenants, as hold* "*of the king by eſcuage, which were not with the king* "*in Scotland, the king himſelf ſhall have the eſcuage.*" Sect. 101. Lord Coke ſays, in his notes to ſect. 97. of the ſame chapter, "*Here is a ſecret of law* "*included, that, albeit eſcuage uncertain be due by* "*tenure; yet becauſe the aſſeſſment thereof concerned* "*ſo many, and ſo great a number of the ſubjects of the* "*realm, it could not be aſſeſſed by the king, or by any* "*other but by parliament; and this was by common* "*law.*" He adds, "*No eſcuage was aſſeſſed by par-*" *liament ſince the reign of Edward the Second.*" Nevertheleſs it appears, that, when Lyttelton wrote,

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it was the common opinion, that it ſhould be ſo aſſeſſed. And he ſeems to ſpeak of it as *law*.

Lord Coke alſo ſays, "And it is to be obſerved, "that, if he that holds of the king by eſcuage go- "eth, or findeth another to go for him, with the "king, &c. then he ſhall have eſcuage of his te- "nants, that hold of him by ſuch ſervice, *which* "*muſt be aſſeſſed by parliament*. But if the king's "tenant goeth not with the king, then he ſhall pay "for his default eſcuage, *and ſhall have no eſcuage* "*of his tenants*." This latter aſſertion is falſe; for Mr. Madox ſays, in his Hiſtory of the Exchequer, that "when the lord, holding *in capite*, did perſonal "ſervice in the king's army, *or paid, or became* "*duly charged with his eſcuage to the king*; *he was* "*entitled to have eſcuage of his tenants for the fees* "*which they held of him, and which he held of the* "*king in capite*." And this he proves by records. For inſtance, in the reign of Henry the Third, Henry de Braybrok had a writ of aid directed to the ſheriff, *to diſtrain the knights who held of him the fees, which he held of the king in capite, for the eſcuage which he ſtood charged with at the Exchequer*. Mr. Madox adds, "that in the elder times, in caſe the "lord was entitled to receive eſcuage of his tenants, "ſuch eſcuage was uſually collected by the lord "*per manum ſuam*, who uſed to juſticiate or diſtrain "his tenants to pay it. Whether it was all along "neceſſary for the lord to have the king's leave or "authority to collect his eſcuage, *per manum ſuam*, "or no; ſuch leave or authority was ſometimes "granted to particular lords." But he ſhews, that afterwards eſcuage was collected by the ſheriffs of the counties. "In the twenty-ſeventh year of "Henry the Third, *when eſcuage was granted to the* "*king by the common-council of the realm*, writs were "awarded to the ſheriffs of the counties, comman-

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Sect. 97, & ſequent.

V. Madox Hiſt. Exchеq. c. 16. ſect. 8. ſect. 9.

Book II. "ding them to take inquiſition by oath of knights, "and lawful men, to find what lands were holden "of the king, or of others, who held of the king "*in capite*, whether of the new feoffment or the "old, and to diſtrain the tenants of ſuch fees, to "pay their eſcuage for the ſame."

P. 438. *But as Victor came, and ſubmitted his cauſe to the council, it gave a reaſonable prejudice in his behalf: his adverſary was cenſured as guilty of contumacy; and, after a proper examination of witneſſes, he was declared to have been duly elected.*

That he was duly elected, I will not affirm; but certainly the pre-engagement, which it appeared that the cardinals of Alexander's party had laid themſelves under before the election, was contrary to the liberty required by the canons. (V. Radevicum, l. ii. c. 52. 71.) And if the nobility, people, and clergy of Rome had a right to interfere in it, (as, notwithſtanding the Bull of Pope Innocent the Second, I preſume they had) Victor, whom, it ſeems, they all inclined to ſupport, may, upon the whole, have had a majority of votes in his favor. But though mention is made, in ſome of the letters which juſtify his election, of their having very ſtrongly declared themſelves on his ſide, yet the principal ſtreſs was not laid upon that, but upon the diſqualification of the cardinals his opponents, by the oaths they had taken; becauſe, I ſuppoſe, to deny the authority of a papal decree was not thought prudent; and the other plea was ſufficient to prevail on the council to determine for Victor.

P. 447. *and prevailed upon them to celebrate the form of a marriage, or public and ſolemn eſpouſals, between Henry his Son, not yet ſix years old, and Margaret of France, who was ſtill a younger infant.*

Diceto

Book II.

Diceto ſays, that Prince Henry at this time was ſeven years old; but this muſt be a miſtake; for (as he tells us himſelf in another place) that prince was born on the laſt day of February, in the year 1155; with which date of his birth the other contemporary hiſtorians agree. The ſame author ſays, that the princeſs of France at this time was three years old; but I ſhould ſuppoſe her older; becauſe I think, that King Henry would hardly have deſired to have her ſent into Normandy, while ſhe was at the breaſt of her nurſe, as ſhe muſt have been in the year 1158, if ſhe was but three years old in 1160.

V. Diceto Imag. Hiſt. ſub ann. 1160 & 1155.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

TO THE

SECOND BOOK

OF THE

Hiſtory of the Life of King HENRY the Second.

N°. I.

Carta Libertatum Angliæ Regis Henrici II.

From the Red Book of the Exchequer.

HENRICUS, Dei gratiâ, Rex Angliæ, Dux Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ, Comes Andegaviæ, baronibus et fidelibus ſuis, Francis et Anglicis, Salutem. This is referred to in p. 300.

Sciatis me, ad honorem Dei et Sanctæ Eccleſiæ, et pro communi emendatione totius regni mei, conceſſiſſe et reddidiſſe, et præſenti cartâ meâ confirmaſſe, Deo et Sanctæ Eccleſiæ, et omnibus comitibus et baronibus, et omnibus hominibus meis, omnes conſuetudines, quas rex Henricus, avus meus, eis dedit et conceſſit. Similiter etiam omnes malas conſuetudines, quas ipſe delevit et remiſit, ego remitto

remitto et deleri concedo, pro me, et hæredibus meis.

Quare volo et firmiter præcipio, quod Sancta Eccleſia, et omnes comites et barones, et omnes mei homines, omnes illas conſuetudines, et donationes, et libertates, et liberas conſuetudines, habeant, et teneant libere et quiete, bene et in pace, et integre, de me et hæredibus meis, ſibi et hæredibus ſuis, adeo libere, et quiete, et plenarie, in omnibus, ſicut rex Henricus, avus meus, eis dedit et conceſſit, et cartâ ſuâ confirmavit.

Teſte Ricardo de Luci.

N° II.

Petri Bleſſenſis Epiſt.

Ep. LXVI. *Ad Gualter Archiepiſcopum Panormitanum.*

This is referred to in p. 302.

BENEDICTUS Dominus Deus, &c. &c. Quod autem à me cum omni inſtantia poſtulatis, ut formam et mores domini regis Angliæ vobis ſub certa deſcriptione tranſmittam, meas quidem facultates excedit: ad hoc enim ſatis inſufficiens videretur Mantuani vena ingenii. Ego tamen quod ſcio vobis ſine invidia et detractione communico. De David legitur, ad commendationem decoris ejus, quoniam rufus erat. Vos autem dominum regem ſubrufum hactenus extitiſſe noveritis, niſi quia colorem hunc venerabilis ſenectus, et ſuperveniens canities aliquantulum alteravit. Statura ejus mediocris eſt, ut et inter parvos magnus appareat, nec inter majores minimus videatur. Caput ejus ſphæricum eſt, tanquam ſapientiæ magnæ ſedes, et alti conſilii ſpeciale ſacrarium. Ea vero eſt capitis quantitas,

quantitas, ut collo et toti corpori proportionali moderatione reſpondeat. Oculi ejus orbiculati ſunt, dum pacati eſt animi, columbini et ſimplices: ſed in ira et turbatione cordis quaſi ſcintillantes ignem et in impetu fulminantes. Cæſaries ejus damna calvitii non veretur, ſuperveniente tamen artificii capillorum tonſura. Leonina facies quaſi in quadrangulum ſe dilatat. Eminentia naris ad totius corporis venuſtatem naturali eſt moderatione propenſa. Arcuati pedes, equeſtres tibiæ, thorax extenſior, lacerti pugiles virum fortem, agilem, et audacem denunciant: in quodam tamen articulo pedis ejus pars unguis innaſcitur carni, atque in contumeliam totius pedis vehementer increſcit. Manus ejus quadam groſſitie ſua hominis incuriam proteſtantur. Earum enim cultum prorſus negligit; nec unquam, niſi aves deferat, utitur chyrothecis. Singulis diebus in miſſis, in conſiliis, et aliis publicis actionibus regni. Semper à mane uſque ad veſperam ſtat in pedes. Et licet tibias habeat frequenti percuſſione calcitrantium equorum enormiter vulneratus et lividas, niſi tamen equitet, vel comedat, nunquam ſedet. Una die, ſi opus fuerit, quatuor aut quinque diætas excurrit, et ſic, inimicorum machinamenta præveniens, artes eorum frequenter inopinata ſubitatione deludit. Ocreis ſine plica, pileis ſine faſtu, et veſtibus utitur expeditis. Vehemens amator nemorum, dum ceſſat à præliis, in avibus et canibus ſe exercet. Caro ſiquidem ejus ſe mole pinguedinis enormiter oneraſſet, niſi quia ventris inſolentiam jejuniis et exercitio domat, atque in aſcendendo equum, et in excurrendo, levitatem adoleſcentiæ ſervans potentiſſimos ad laborem ſingulis fere diebus itinerando fatigat. Non enim, ſicut alii reges, in palatio ſuo jacet, ſed per provincias currens explorat facta omnium, illos potiſſime judicans, quos conſtituit judices aliorum. Nemo

eſt

eſt argutior in conſiliis, in eloquio torrentior, ſecurior in periculis, in proſperis timidior, conſtantior in adverſis. Quem ſemel dilexit, vix dediligit: quem vero ſemel exorſum habuit, vix in gratiam familiaritatis admittit. Semper in manibus ejus ſunt arcus, enſes, venabula, et ſagittæ; niſi ſit in conſiliis, aut in libris. Quoties enim poteſt a curis et ſolicitudinibus reſpirare, ſecreta ſe occupat lectione, aut in cuneo clericorum aliquem nodum quæſtionis laborat evolvere. Nam cum rex veſter bene literas noverit, rex noſter longe literatior eſt. Ego enim in litterali ſcientia facultates utriuſque cognovi. Scitis, quod dominus rex Siciliæ per annum diſcipulus meus fuit, et qui à vobis verſificatoriæ atque litteratoriæ artis primitias habuerat, per induſtriam et ſolicitudinem meam beneficium ſcientiæ plenioris obtinuit. Quam cito autem ēgreſſus ſum regnum, ipſe libris abjectis ad otium ſe contulit palatinum.

Verumtamen apud dominum regem Anglorum, quotidiana ejus ſchola eſt litteratiſſimorum converſatio jugis, et diſcuſſio quæſtionum. Nullus rege noſtro eſt honeſtior in loquendo, in comedendo urbanior, moderatior in bibendo. Nullus magnificentior in donis, nullus munificentior in eleemoſynis: ideoque quaſi unguentum effuſum eſt nomen ejus, et eleemoſynas illius enarrat omnis Eccleſia Sanctorum. Rex noſter pacificus, victorioſus in bellis, glorioſus in pace: ſuper omnia deſiderabilia hujus mundi zelatur et procurat pacem populi ſui. Ad pacem populi ſpectat immenſitas illa pecuniarum, quam donat, quam recipit, quam congregat, quam diſpergit. In muris, in propugnaculis, in munitionibus, in foſſatis, in clauſuris ferarum et piſcium, et in palatiorum ædificiis nullus ſubtilior, nulluſque magnificentior invenitur. Pater ejus, potentiſſimus et nobiliſſimus comes, fines ſuos ampliſſime dilatavit: ſed iſte patris facultatibus ſuperaddens

dens in fortitudine manus ſuæ ducatum Normanniæ, ducatum Aquitaniæ, ducatum Britanniæ, regnum Angliæ, regnum Scotiæ, regnum Hyberniæ, regnum Walliæ, paternæ magnificentiæ titulos inæſtimabiliter ampliavit. Nullus manſuetior eſt afflictis, nullus affabilior pauperibus, nullus importabilior eſt ſuperbis: quadam enim divinitatis imagine ſemper ſtuduit opprimere faſtuoſos, oppreſſos erigere, et adverſus ſuperbiæ tumorem continuas perſecutiones at exitiales moleſtias ſuſcitare. Cum autem juxta regni conſuetudinem in electionibus faciendis potiſſimas et potentiſſimas habeat partes, habuit tamen ſemper manus ab omni venalitate innoxias et immunes. Has et alias tam animi quam corporis dotes, quibus ipſum natura egregie præ cæteris inſignivit, tango ſummotenus, non deſcribo: meam enim profiteor inſufficientiam, crederemque ſub tanta ſudare materia Tullium, aut Maronem. Illud ſane tantillum, quod de forma et moribus ejus, ad inſtantiam veſtram, breviter delibavi, mihi temeritati à pluribus adſcribetur: videbor enim, aut onus importabile præſumpſiſſe, aut plurimum de magnificentia tanti viri per invidentiam recidiſſe. Ego tamen veſtræ ſerviens caritati, quod poſſum facio, et quod ſcio veſtræ poſtulationi promptiſſima voluntate communico, atque inter cæteros magnificos viros, qui de laudibus domini mei ſcribunt, ego cum paupere vidua minutum devotionis gazophylacium mitto. Quod autem de morte beati martyris quæritis, in verbo domini et in ordine diaconi vobis dico, me nullo modo habere in conſcientia, ipſum hujus rei culpabilem exſtitiſſe: hujuſque fidem pleniſſimam vobis facient dominus Theodinus Portuenſis epiſcopus, et dominus Albertus Cancellarius, qui propter hoc in partibus noſtris legatione fungentes exploraverunt, et innocentiam viri cognoverunt, atque ſub umbra illius hoc a quibuſdam

attentatum fuiſſe, totamque hanc iniquitatem à ſanctuario proceſſiſſe. Accepta ſiquidem ab eis canonica purgatione illius, illi de mandato ſummi pontificis publice ſententiaverunt, eum ab hoc crimine coram Deo et hominibus eſſe innoxium, et in quoſdam magnates, quorum malitiam in hac parte manifeſte convicerant, notam infamiæ retorſerunt. Illud quoque noveritis, dominum regem glorioſum martyrem in omnibus auguſtiis ſuis patronum habere præcipuum. Eadem ſiquidem die, qua primo tumulum martyris viſitavit, regem Scotiæ perſecutorem et impugnatorem fortiſſimum, captum vinculis carceralibus mancipavit. Continuatoque dienceps favore ſucceſſuum ope martyris de univerſis hoſtibus glorioſiſſime triumphavit. Sciatis igitur certiſſime, quod caritatem illam, qua ſe olim rex et martyr mutuo dilexerunt, neque mors neque gladius abolevit: fortis enim eſt dilectio, ut mors: et cum omnia tranſeant, caritas nunquam excidit. Hæc eſt porta ſpecioſa, quæ in ſubverſione Hieruſalem integra et intacta permanſit: cumque omnia evacuentur in morte, dilectio in morte non moritur, cujus fortitudini mors ſuccumbit. Regnum quidem Angliæ, quod adverſus regem Stephanum armis ſtrenuiſſimum ſudoribus obtinuerat bellicis, licet adoleſcentulus et contemptus, filii ejus, conſilio et auxilio regum et principum circumjacentium, gravi ſeditione turbaverant. Ipſe autem deſtitutus ſuis, et ab extraneis impugnatus, illo aſpirante, in cujus virtute unus fugat decem millia, prævaluit univerſis, deditque in manus ejus hoſtes ſuos Dominus, ad alligandos reges eorum in compedibus, et nobiles eorum in manicis ferreis. Ille, qui convertit corda filiorum ad patrem, ipſos in affectione filiali nutriens ſedem patris in tempora longa ſtabiliat, et faciat pacem. Scio enim, quod ſi bella iterum ſuſcitaverint in parentem, ſuccidet eos dominus. Nam Dei

judicio

judicio et lege fatali ſancitum eſt, ut quicunque de conſanguinitate illius bellis iſpum impugnare præſumpſerit, non dimidiet dies ſuos. Hoc autem in libro experientiæ jam de multis legimus, et fide oculata cognovimus.

N° III.

Harley, part 215. fol. 2. 6—36.

NOTUM ſit omnibus tam præſentibus quam futuris, quod hoc modo facta pax inter Lodowicum regem Francie, et regem Anglie Henricum. Rex Lodowicus reddidit regi Anglie omnia jura, et tenementa Henrici regis avi ſui, que tenebat die, qua fuit vivus ac mortuus, plene et integre; excepto Wilcaſſino. Et de Wilcaſſino remanſit regi Anglie feodum archiepiſcopi Rotomag', et feodum comitis ligicum de feodo Britollii, et feodum comitis Ebr'. Et totum remanens Wilcaſſini regi Francie; hoc modo, quod ipſe illud remanens dedit, et conceſſit maritagium cum filia ſua filio regis Anglie habendum. Et eum inde ſeiſiendum, ab aſſumptione beate Marie proxima poſt pacem factam, in tres annos, et ſi infra hunc terminum filia regis Francie filio regis Anglie deſponſata fuerit, aſſenſu et conſenſu Sancte Eccleſie, tunc erit rex Anglie ſeyſitus de toto Wilcaſſino, et de Caſtellis Wilcaſſini, ad opus filii ſui. Et ſi filia regis Francie infra hunc terminum obierit, Caſtella et Wilcaſſinum redibunt ad manum regis Francie; exceptis tribus feodis, que ſemper remanebunt regi Anglie ſoluta et quieta. Et iſta conventione, quod Caſtella remanebunt in cuſtodia militum Templi, uſque ad prædictum terminum: et habebunt redditus ad Caſtella

This is referred to in p. 262.

cuſtodienda, quæ rex Francie in dominio habebat. Et interim, rex Francie habebit inde juſticiam, et homagia, et ſervicium. Et Gocelinus Criſpinus, et Goellius de Vaudemonte reverſi ſunt in homagia regis Francie, de eo quod habent in Wilcaſſino, et debent habere de ipſo. Et ſi rex Francie habuerit querelam verſus eos, que ſit ad juſticiam corporis, vel membrorum, ſive exheredacionem, ſive magnum gravamen pecunie, per conſilium regis Anglie deducetur. Per iſtam convencionem Caſtellum Stipinnei proſternetur, infra feſtum Sancti Johannis. Comes Ebr.[3] Simon reverſus eſt in homagium regis Francie; et ſervicium quiete in hominibus et caſtellis ſuis, et caſtella ſua ei quieta remanebunt; ſicut ceteri barones Francie caſtella ſua quieta habent. Et rex ſolvit, et quietos clamavit homines ejuſdem comitis omnes, à juramento quod ei fecerunt: et ipſum comitem ſimiliter abſolvit, de eo quod ad regem Francie pertinet. Et idem comes Ebi habebit omnia jura ſua de foreſta Aquiline, ſicut jurata fuerunt per ſervientes regis Francie, et ipſius comitis. Sed ſi inter eos orta fuerit querela, per juramenta hominum et regis et comitis, qui hoc juraverunt, ex precepto regis, et ſine mala voluntate ejus recognitum erit. Et de domo Sancti Leodegarii, ſi comes eum requiſierit, de cuſtodia ejuſdem domus rex ei rectum tenebit. Præterea rex Francie reddidit regi Anglie omnia jura et tenementa comitis Pictavenſis, excepta Toloſa; hoc modo, quod rex Anglie conceſſit de Toloſa trevias, uſque die primo Pentecoſt poſt pacem, in unum annum, pro amore regis Francie, comiti Sancti Egidii; ſalvo honore ſuo, ſine malo ingenio, et ſine ſua et ſuorum heredum exheredacione. Et quicquid rex Anglie habebat de honore Toloſe, et Cadurco, et Cadurcino, ea die qua pax facta fuit, eidem regi Anglie remanebit; et ſi comes Sancti Egidii infra hunc terminum

regi Anglie, vel ſuis hominibus, de predicto honore Toloſe, vel Cadurci, forisfecerit, et ad marchia in termino convenienti non emendaverit, rex Francie inde ulterius ſe non intromittet. Et ſi comes de Bargelim' et Trencavel', et ceteri homines regis Anglie illius patrie, noluerint in trewis iſtis eſſe, et gwerram fecerint comiti Sancti Egidii, rex Anglie non juvabit eos infra hunc terminum contra iſtam convencionem.

Concedo et confirmo hiis teſtibus: Petro Pariſiac', Hugone Sueſoinenſ', Roberto Ebroic', Ernaldo Exc', Philippo Baiocenſ', Rogero Sagienſi, Hugone Dunelm' Epiſcopo, Thoma Cancellar', Comite Flandrenſ', Teodorico Comite, Henrico Comite Sueſionenſ', Comite Belli Montis, Teodor' Wilerianno, Willielmo Pavet, Magiſtro Templi et Fratribus, Otton'. de Sancto Ludonir', Gilberto de Laci, Ricardo de Haſting', Petro Epiſcopo, Roberto de Piro, Willielmo fratre regis Anglie, Comite Millet'ino, Ricardo de Humet, Jordano Taxo.

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